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FIRST

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY;

WITH THE

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY
MEETING,

HELD IN CHATHAM-STREET CHAPEL,

IN THE CITY OF NEW-YORK,

ON THE SIXTH OF MAY, 1834,

AND BY ADJOURNMENT ON THE EIGHTH, IN THE REV. DR. LANSING'S CHURCH;

AND THE

MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY FOR
BUSINESS.

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1834.

FIRST ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE first public anniversary of this Society was held in Chatham-street chapel, on Tuesday the 6th of May, 1834. The house was filled by a very select audience, a large proportion being clergymen, and other visitors from abroad.

At 10 o'clock, A. M., MR. ARTHUR TAPPAN, the President, took the chair.

Prayer was offered by the Rev. Cyrus P. Grosvenor, of Salem, Mass.

Rev. S. H. Cox, of New-York, read the 58th chapter of Isaiah. An appropriate hymn was then sung by a choir composed partly of colored singers.

Extracts from the Annual Report were then read by ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jr., Secretary for Domestic Correspondence.

Rev. S. L. POMEROY, of Bangor, Me. moved that the report be accepted, and published under the direction of the committee.

He said he had great pleasure in doing it, because he believed the principles laid down in the report are the principles of eternal truth and justice. They stand on the chapter we have just heard. If any one asks us for the principles of the Anti-Slavery Society, we point to that chapter and say, There are our principles. Would they know the means on which we rely, under God, for the accomplishment of our intentions, we reply, We follow the example of Him, who when he would reduce chaotic elements into order and beauty, said, "Let there be light." So say we, let there be light on the subject of slavery; investigate and publish abroad the truth. These are our means.

REV. STEPHEN PEET, of Euclid, Ohio, said he felt great satisfaction in seconding the motion.

REV. AMOS A. PHELPS, of Boston, moved the following resolution :

Resolved, That inasmuch as foreign slave-trading has been justly decreed by civilized nations to be piracy, slave-holding is a sin of no less atrocity; and that, existing as it does in our country, it brings the Declaration of American Independence and our republican institutions into contempt, and gives just occasion to apprehend the judgments of a righteous God, if it be not speedily abolished.

This resolution, said Mr. P., it will be perceived, takes very high ground. But it takes it not for the purpose of calumniating those who are more immediately concerned in slavery. I know that there are many who are very noble men in *other* respects, whom we consider very guilty in this. Nor is it because we, non-slave-holders, are innocent in regard to our colored brethren. But we take this ground, because it is the only true ground to take, and because it presents us the only efficient principle of reform. We are told we should press considerations of *interest*, we must make it plain to the slave-holder that it is for his interest to emancipate his slaves. But mere interest can never carry on a moral reform. You may go to the profligate man, and tell him it is for his interest to reform, and he will be a profligate still. So with the slave-holder. You must reach his conscience; and in order to this, you must tell him the plain truth in regard to the moral character of his conduct.

The resolution puts slave-holding and slave trading on the same footing of guilt. We make no difference, for these reasons:

1. All slave-trading is the legitimate result of slave-holding. It is one of the most obvious of principles, that where there is no market there will be no trade; if no demand, then no supply. The history of the African slave trade shows that it is the child of slavery. The natives of the West India islands were subjected to a servitude so severe as to destroy the race; and the Africans were enslaved in order to save the natives from entire extinction.

2. All the reasons which decide the African slave-trade to be piracy, are equally valid to prove that slave-holding is a crime of the same character. What is piracy? The dictionaries define it to be, "the act of taking property on the high seas without authority." It is on the sea what robbery is on the land. What then is it that constitutes the African slave trade piracy? It is not fitting out ships to Africa. That is lawful. Nor is it transporting 100 or 1000 persons across the ocean. That is lawful. Nor that they are subjected to hardship and suffering in the middle passage. That might be by the dispensation of Heaven. Or if you say cruelty is the test, then I can prove that slave-holding is equally piracy.

Mr. P. then alluded to the recent occurrence at New-Orleans. He also mentioned the case of a man named Smith, a constable of Alexandria, D. C., who, having arrested a colored man for debt, incautiously took him over the Virginia line, and when the man said he was now out of his jurisdiction, the enraged constable drew a knife and literally cut out his heart. There was indeed a great excitement at the moment, the man was tried, and it was found necessary to call

out the militia to protect him from the mob. But the court decided that the deed was done out of their jurisdiction, in Virginia, and there the matter ended. The man still lives unmolested. We have the full declaration of the students in Lane Seminary, that cruelty is the rule, kindness the exception.

If it is separating families, or the use of violence in obtaining victims, that makes up piracy, then is slave-holding piracy. The slave-holder puts his hand on the little infant that is born on his plantation, and says, "That is mine." Why does he not use violence? Simply because there is no need. Suppose it was born an adult; would he not resort to violence? Legalized violence, perhaps, as we see done in New-York, but still overpowering force, as truly as in Africa.

What then is it that constitutes slave-holding the crime of piracy? It is the one simple act of reducing a freeman to the condition of a slave—wresting from a human being the ownership of himself. It is this, divested of all its circumstances. And is not slave-holding just as much a usurpation—the setting up of an assumed claim to the ownership of a human being?

It needs no argument to prove that slavery dishonors Christianity and our free institutions. Look at its influence. See how it trammels the press, locks up the pulpit, controls elections, exerts an overwhelming influence in our national councils. All our national collisions owe their origin to slavery. Who can measure the influence of slavery in counteracting and destroying the influence of our example on other lands in favor of free institutions? The standing plea of the advocates of despotism, when they would warn their votaries against the desire of liberty, is to point out the inconsistency of our example, and our national dissensions and commotions that grow out of slavery. Sir, it puts back the march of freedom, nay, of religion, over the whole earth. Let the story be told to the heathen, according to strict truth, by any Christian missionary of the cross, and what native would listen to the gospel from his lips? If the infidel wants to counteract effectually our labors to spread the gospel, let him go and tell the heathen that in this Christian land one sixth of the people are held in bondage, and your missionary may almost as well go home.

Does the slave-holder refer to the Bible for justification? The slave-trader has done the same. When that was a subject of discussion the defenders of the slave-trade were always telling about the curse of servitude denounced upon Canaan and his posterity, how Abraham had servants bought with money, and the Jews were allowed by God himself to enslave the nations around them. The slave-trader used to plead law, and constitution too; for it should be remembered that the slave-trade was once as constitutional as slave-holding, although we and the civilized world now treat it as piracy.

There are two particulars in which slave-holding stands pre-eminent. 1. When and where did the slave-trade ever develope such a system of licentiousness? 2. The slave-trade never produced a system of laws to shut out the light of the Bible from its victims, and lock up the mind to darkness and paganism? It never laid its iron grasp upon the intellect of man, nor attempted to crush and obliterate the immortal principle. If there is any difference in criminality then, slave-holding is the worse of the two.

Mr. P. then spoke of a recent visit he had made to the jail in Washington city. The United States government have just paid five thousand dollars for repairing it. The debtors and criminals are located in rooms above, and below are 16 solitary cells, used and constantly occupied for the confinement of slaves and per-

sons taken up on suspicion of being slaves. On inquiring of one and another, My lad, what are you here for? it was affecting to hear the reply, "For my freedom, sir." Just down the hill in the other direction, and like the jail, within sight of the capitol, is the slave tavern of William Robie, a depot for the American slave-trade. And seven miles distant, in Alexandria, and under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, is the larger establishment of Franklin and Armfield. One of the partners told me he had probably sold a thousand slaves already this year. And he told a gentleman, who told me, that he had made not less than thirty thousand dollars by his operations. According to the city laws of Washington, every slave-trader pays four hundred dollars for a license, and this goes to support the city government.

Mr. P. enumerated other acts of oppression, and violation of right. And these, said he, occur at Washington, the head quarters of colonization, and we hear nothing of any complaint.

Need I ask whether such things bring us and our declaration of independence into contempt? Sir, look at Europe. The Christians—the infidels—the supporters of tyranny—the friends of liberty—point the finger of scorn at our inconsistency. We boast that our country is the home of the oppressed, and yet there is not a nation on earth that holds so many slaves. We cheer on the Greeks to break the Turkish yoke, and we make contributions in aid of the Poles; and yet hold greater numbers in more cruel and crushing bondage. We boast of our freedom of speech and of the press; and yet, in the District of Columbia, a free citizen, if he has a colored skin, is liable to a fine of twenty dollars for taking the Emancipator. And we have seen the legislature of a sovereign state at the south, offering a reward of five thousand dollars for the head of a citizen at the north, who undertook to awaken public attention to the enormities of this system.

Does not all this give us reason to apprehend the judgments of Heaven? Sir, judgments have already come, giving indications of severer judgments in store, unless we repent. The light has come now; let us hear, and we shall be "the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in."

Mr. JAMES A. THOME, of Kentucky, a delegate from the Anti-Slavery Society of Lane Seminary, was introduced to the meeting, and moved the following resolution:

Resolved, That the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society commend themselves to the consciences and interest of slave-holders; and that recent developments indicate the speedy triumph of this cause.

Of the truth of the first proposition contained in this resolution, that our principles commend themselves to the consciences and interest of slave-holders, I have the honor to stand before you a living witness. I am from Kentucky. There I was born and wholly educated. The associations of youth, and the attachments of growing years—prejudices, opinions and habits forming and fixing during my whole life, conspire to make me a Kentuckian indeed. More than this—I breathed my first breath in the atmosphere of slavery; I was suckled at its breast and dandled on its knee. Black, black, black was before me at every step—the sure badge of infamy. The sympathies of nature, even in their spring

tide, were dried up; compassion was deadened, and the heart was steelled by repeated scenes of cruelty and oft taught lessons of the colored man's inferiority.

What I shall say is the result either of experience or of personal observation.

Abolition principles do take strong hold of the conscience and of interest too. Permit me to say, sir, I was for several years a member of the Colonization Society. I contributed to its funds, and eulogised its measures; and now, though I would not leave my path to attack this institution, yet duty bids me state, solemnly and deliberately, that its direct influence upon my mind was to lessen my conviction of the evils of slavery, and to deepen and sanctify my prejudice against the colored race.

But, sir, far otherwise with abolition. Within a few months' residence at Lane Seminary, and by means of a discussion unparalleled in the brotherly feeling and fairness which characterized it, and the results which it brought out, the great principles of duty stood forth, sin revived and I died. And, sir, though I am at this moment the heir to a slave inheritance, and though I, forsooth, am one of those *unfortunate* beings upon whom slavery is by force ENTAILED, yet I am bold to denounce the whole system as an outrage—a complication of crimes and wrongs and cruelties that make angels weep. This is the spirit which your principles inspire. Indeed, I know of no subject which takes such strong hold of the man as does abolition. It seizes the conscience with an authoritative grasp—it runs across every path of the guilty, haunts him, goads him, and rings in his ear the cry of blood. It builds a wall up to heaven before him and around him; it goes with the eye of God, and searches his heart with a scrutiny too strict to be eluded. It writes a "thou art the man" upon the forehead of every oppressor.

It also commands the avenues to the human heart, and rushes up through them all to take the citadel of feeling. All the sympathies are its advocates, and every susceptibility to compassionate outraged humanity stands pledged to do its work.

Will you permit me to state some of the vantage grounds upon which we stand in the public discussion of this question?

1. The duty of the slave-holder. The duty of the slave-holder—what a weapon! a host in itself! sure as the throne of God, and strong as the arm of God. It is untrue that this consideration loses its force in slave states. It is the power of God there and on this subject, as it is elsewhere and on every other. Facts are daily occurring which show that when every other motive fails, this is efficient. It is a libel upon the western character, to say that duty *there* must bow before *expediency*; and this miserable policy will soon be visited with a just rebuke from the people it has slandered.

2. Again—The sufferings of the slaves. It is well known that in Kentucky slavery wears its mildest features. Kentucky slave-holders are generally ignorant of the cruelties which are practised further south, and on this score are little aware of the bearings of the system. Those good matter-of-fact patriots, who call such recitals "the poetry of philanthropy," and who in the south have the control of the press, have studiously refrained from instructing the public on this point. A noble expedient this, to close the ear of the oppressor against the wail of the oppressed. But it will not avail. The voice of their lamentations is waxing louder, and *it will be heard*. Sir, is it not unquestionable that slavery is the parent of more suffering than has flowed from any one source since the date of its existence? Such sufferings too! Sufferings inconceivable and innumerable—

anguish from mind degraded—hopelessness from violated chastity—bitterness from character, reputation, and honor annihilated—unmingled wretchedness from the ties of nature rudely broken and destroyed, the acutest bodily torture in every muscle and joint—groans, tears and blood—lying forever “in perils among robbers, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness.”

What! are these our brethren? And have we fattened, like jackalls, upon their living flesh? Sir, when once the great proposition, that negroes are *human beings*—a proposition now scouted by many with contempt—is clearly demonstrated and drawn out on the southern sky, and when underneath it is written the bloody corollary—the sufferings of the negro race—the seared conscience will again sting, and the stony heart will melt.

But, brethren of the north, be not deceived. These sufferings still exist, and despite the efforts of their cruel authors to hush them down, and confine them within the precincts of their own plantations, they will, ever and anon, struggle up and reach the ear of humanity.

A general fact—though I would by no means intimate that Kentucky slaveholders are themselves free from cruelty—far from it!—yet I have found, in narrating particular cases to them, as evident expressions of horror and indignation as men ordinarily feel in other sections of our country. Such facts have their effect upon them.

3. Licentiousness. I shall not speak of the far south, whose sons are fast melting away under the unblushing profligacy which prevails. I allude to the slave-holding west. It is well known that the slave lodgings—I refer now to village slaves—are exposed to the entrance of strangers every hour of the night, and that the sleeping apartments of both sexes are common.

It is also a fact, that there is no allowed intercourse between the families and servants after the work of the day is over. The family, assembled for the evening, enjoy a conversation elevating and instructive. But the poor slaves are thrust out. No ties of sacred home thrown around them—no moral instruction to compensate for the toils of the day—no intercourse as of man with man; and should one of the younger members of the family, led by curiosity, steal out into the filthy kitchen, the child is speedily called back, thinking itself happy if it escape an angry rebuke. Why this? The dread of moral contamination. Most excellent reason; but it reveals a horrid picture. The slaves, thus cut off from all community of feeling with their master, roam over the village streets, shocking the ear with their vulgar jestings and voluptuous songs, or opening their kitchens to the reception of the neighboring blacks, they pass the evening in gambling, dancing, drinking, and the most obscene conversation, kept up until the night is far spent, then crown the scene with indiscriminate debauchery. Where do these things occur? In the kitchens of church members and elders!

But another general fact. After all the care of parents to hide these things from their children, the young inquisitors pry them out, and they are apt scholars truly. It's a short-sighted parent who does not perceive that his domestics influence very materially the early education of his children. Between the female slaves and the misses there is an unrestrained communication. As they come in contact through the day, the courtesan feats of the past night are whispered into the ear of the unsuspecting girl, to poison her youthful mind.

Bring together these three facts—1st, that slave lodgings are exposed, and both sexes fare promiscuously—2d, that the slaves are excluded from the social, moral and intellectual advantages of the family, and left to seek such enjoyments as a debased appetite suggests—and 3d, that the slaves have free interchange of thought with the younger members of the family; and ask yourselves what must be the results of their combined operation.

Yet these are only *some* of the ingredients in this great system of licentiousness. Pollution, pollution! Young men of talents and respectability, fathers, professors of religion, ministers—all classes! Overwhelming pollution! I have facts; but I forbear to state them—facts which have fallen under my own observation, startling enough to arouse the moral indignation of the community.

I would not have you fail to understand that this is a general evil. Sir, what I now say, I say from a deliberate conviction of its truth; let it be felt in the north and rolled back upon the south, that the slave States are Sodoms, and almost every village family is a brothel. (In this, I refer to the inmates of the kitchens, and not to the whites.) And it is well! God be blessed for the evils which this cursed sin entails. They only show that whatever is to be feared from the abolition of slavery, horrors a hundred fold greater cluster about its existence. Heap them up, all hideous as they are, and crowd them home; they will prove an effectual medicine. Let me be understood here. This pollution is the offspring of slavery: it springs not from the *character* of the *negro*, but from the *condition* of the *slave*.

I have time merely to allude to several other considerations.

4. The fears of slave-holders. These afford strong evidence that conscience is at work. In the most peaceful villages of Kentucky, masters at this time sleep with muskets in their bed-rooms, or a brace of pistols at their head.

5. Their acknowledgments. The very admissions which they make for the purpose of silencing their growing convictions of duty, may be successfully turned upon them. They almost unanimously say that slavery is a great evil—that it is abstractly wrong; yet there is no help for it—or their slaves are better off than they are—or, or, or.

Now be they sincere or insincere, out of their own mouth we can condemn them. I met, the other day, in travelling a short distance on the Ohio river, with a good illustration of the manner in which these admissions are made. It is also a pretty faithful exhibition of the uneasy, conscience-struck spirit which is beginning to pervade Kentucky. The individual was a citizen of that State, and a slave-holder in it. He was free in conversation on the subject of slavery. He declared in the outset that slavery was wrong—a most iniquitous system, and ought to be abolished. Quite a point gained, thought I, and I proceeded very confidently to the application. But I soon found that my friend had deserted his position. “The old dispensation, sir—what d’y’e think of that? Didn’t Abraham hold slaves? and besides, what does Paul say?”

You perceive he was a *Christian*, sir, quite orthodox withal.

Soon again he returned to his post, and asserted as roundly as before the wickedness of slavery. “Wrong—totally wrong! I would free all my slaves if—but—O tell me, sir, were not the Jews permitted to hold slaves because they were a favored people; and are not *we* a favored people? Abraham, Paul, the old dispensation”—and thus he rung the changes, strung on the one hand by a

guilty conscience, and met on the other by opposing selfishness. It may be said this man was not intelligent. He was unusually so *on every other subject*.

6. Safety of emancipation. On this point, the slave-holder is more than ignorant—he is deplorably misinformed. Who have been his counsellors, judge ye. It is remarkable what a unanimity of sentiment prevails on this subject.

You would suppose that they had long been plied with stories of butchered parents, murdered children, and plundered houses. This might be discouraging if the short history of emancipation did not furnish us with so many conclusive facts. With these facts you are quite familiar; and yet there is no objection more common than the dangers, the dangers of emancipation. Travel in slave-holding States, and talk with masters, and you will find, in a great majority of cases, they will point to St. Domingo, and exultingly say, “Behold the consequences of your measures.”

7. Slave-holders are not so inaccessible as they are thought to be in the north. There is a strong degree of excitability in the character of our southern brethren, it is true; but this is not all. There is reason too, and common sense, and conscience.

I, for one, beg leave to enter my decided protest, against those *friendly* representations of the southern character, which have been made to scare away abolitionists, and prolong a guilty repose. Unless I read amiss, assertions are repeatedly made to this effect—that argument, in the south, has no weight; that truth, facts, experience, are all inefficacious; that slave-holders have no conscience, no heart, no soul, no principle—nothing but selfishness; that they are boisterous and passionate when you speak of the rights of man, and you must beware—soft!—delicate matter! Sir, I repudiate these sentiments. They are as groundless as they are insulting. Let them strike with all their force against certain wordy orators of the south, whose arguments are powder and balls, but they illy fit those worthy citizens whose voice constitutes public sentiment.

The slave-holder, if rightly approached, exhibits all the courtesy for which the south is noted. I have conversed with many, and scarcely know an instance to the contrary. No indignation—no rage—no fierce indications of hostility. I lately had opportunity to converse with several intelligent families in a small village of Kentucky. The state of feeling was truly gratifying. Many inquiries were made concerning the principles of abolitionists. Some were anxious to know the plans of operation, others expressed themselves in very unexpected terms. Said one, “I am decidedly opposed to the spirit of the Colonization Society.” Said another, “I am determined to emancipate my slaves just so soon as circumstances, now without my control, will permit.”

8. Kentucky. I have already made frequent allusions to Kentucky. The spirit which is beginning to prevail there, though not a fair representative of the state of the public mind in other slave States, is to be hailed, on other grounds, as constituting no small item in our account. Colonization—which, like the Hindoo goddess, with smiling face and winning air, grasps in her wide embrace, the zeal of the church, and the benevolence of the world, and, pressing them to her bosom, thrusts them through with the hidden steel, Colonization has indeed done its mournful work in Kentucky.

[Sir, perhaps I owe an apology to this house for such frequent allusions to the Colonization Society. This is my apology; I *know* its evils, and can lay my finger on them, one by one. I *know* the individual slaves who are now in bondage

by its influence *alone*. I *know* the masters whose *only* plea for continuing in the sin is drawn from *its doctrines*. I know, and therefore have I spoken. Many of its friends I reverence; they are worthy men. But the tendencies of the system I *know* to be pernicious in the extreme.]

But the State is rising above this influence. Conscientious citizens are forming themselves into other associations. Many hold this language: "Slavery stands in opposition to the spirit of the age, to the progress of human improvement—it cannot abide the light of the nineteenth century." The Legislature has taken up the subject. The spirit of inquiry is abroad.—"Kentucky is rapidly awakening." She should now fill up the eye of abolitionists; for if she were induced to take a stand with you, her example would be of incalculable worth.

These are some of the results of a life thus far spent in the midst of slavery; less than this I could not prevail upon myself to say. The design of these statements has been to encourage you in your holy enterprise, inasmuch as they show that your principles do take strong hold of the consciences and interest of slaveholders.

Now, sir, the great object of my presence here, is to urge upon you an appeal for renewed effort on the behalf of the slave. The question has been asked here and repeated in the south, "What has the north to do with slavery?" At present she has every thing to do with it—every thing. Will you please bear in mind three considerations: 1st, We have no abolition paper in the west or south! 2d, Your principles have been grossly misrepresented, and misunderstood. 3d, You have effected incredible things already.

With regard to the first fact I only say, with shame, there is no editor in the Valley who is willing to hazard his living by establishing an abolition press.

2d. I can give you but a faint idea of the notions which are entertained of abolition principles and men. Recklessness, false estimate of right, fanaticism, Quixotism, sublimated austere bigots, incessantly harping upon abstract principles, incendiaries, officious intermeddlers, arrant knaves who would break up all well-ordered society, set every slave at his master's throat, and enjoy the massacre with infinite delight; outlawed renegades who, having themselves no interest at stake, would bankrupt the honest planter, and most horrifying of all, introduce a general system of amalgamation. Notions so monstrously perverted, have not been caught up at hap-hazard, but most faithfully instilled by the timorous cautionists of our day. But from what source soever they may have come, they clamor for correction, immediate correction. It is of immense importance that the public mind should be disabused by a faithful presentation of facts.

Under all these disadvantages you are doing much. The very little leaven which you have been enabled to introduce is now working with tremendous power. One instance has lately occurred within my acquaintance, of an heir to slave property—a young man of growing influence, who was first awakened by reading a single number of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, sent to him by some unknown hand. He is now a whole-hearted abolitionist. I have facts to show that cases of this kind are by no means rare. A family of slaves in Arkansas Territory, another in Tennessee, and a third, consisting of 88, in Virginia, were successively emancipated through the influence of one abolition periodical.

Then do not hesitate as to duty. Do not pause to consider the propriety of interference. It is as unquestionably the province of the north to labor in this cause, as it is the duty of the church to convert the world. The call is urgent—

it is imperative. We want light. The ungodly are saying, "the church will not enlighten us." The church is saying, "the ministry will not enlighten us." The ministry is crying "Peace—take care." We are altogether covered in gross darkness. We appeal to you for light. Send us facts—send us kind remonstrance and manly reasoning. We are perishing for lack of truth. We have been lulled to sleep by the guilty apologist. O *tell* us, if it be true that our bed is a volcano. O roll off the Colonization incubus which is crushing us down and binding us hand and foot. Show us that "prejudice is vincible," that slavery is *unqualifiedly* wrong, and strip us of every excuse. Come and tell us what shocking scenes are transpiring in our own families under the cover of night. Go with us into our kitchens and lift up the horrid veil—show us the contamination, as it issues thence and wraps its loathsome folds about our sons and daughters.

Nay, tell us if indeed these miserable beings are *themselves* our sisters and brothers, whom we have buried *alive*, with our own hands, in corruption. Point us, with painful exactness, to the forehead, from which God's image is well nigh effaced, to the soul-less eye, to the beast-like features, the leaden countenance and the cowering air, and tell us, "*that is the immortal mind in ruins.*" Repeat the sufferings of the slave, the stripes, the cruel separation, the forlornness of the friendless slave, and flash upon us the truth, "thy brother, thy brother!"

Sir, we have sympathies yet alive within us, we have feeling. The great deep of our hearts, though it has long been calm, may be moved, and it will be broken up by such stirring facts.

You hear the appeal of the south—can you resist it? You will not. The work is yours—your heart is in it. Move onward, and soon the triumph will be yours.

None but God *can* stay your course, and God is with you.

REV. BERAH GREEN, President of the Oneida Institute, presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That the claims of the colored people of the United States upon our fraternal sympathy, and effective aid, are not only manifestly just, but peculiarly impressive, imperative and powerful.

Mr. Green said he felt himself thrown into an awkward predicament, in attempting to arrest and retain the attention of the audience, after the agonizing interest which had been excited. In his view the prominent point in the resolution was in the word *peculiar*, as expressing the claims of the colored people on our commiseration. We are enjoined to keep still, for this matter does not belong to us; or in plain words, they mean, it is none of our business. Suppose we listen to this exhortation, or rather, this temptation, and stubbornly refuse to give attention to these claims and appeals of our suffering brethren,—would our own interests be safe in a single department? What effect would our silence have upon our poor oppressed brethren? Let no person imagine they are unacquainted with what takes place. Sir, there is not a pulse of sympathy for them in the north, which is not felt by the slave at the south. God will see to it that they are not left strangers to it. But suppose the slave were to look around, and that thought should come home with the soul-freezing report that in all our borders there was not a friend who would sympathize with his bonds or plead his rights,—would he not be driven to desperation and violence, because his situation could not be made worse? And we should be called upon and legally compelled to

imbrue our hands in his blood, to shield the oppressor from the horror of servile war.

Our brother has told us that not an editor in the Western Valley dares advocate the rights of the slave. What, sir, has this tyranny already laid its hand on the palladium of liberty, the free press? All the world seems to be alarmed if but a word be said to illustrate the great elementary principles of society, in their bearing upon human rights. I look into our Reviews and our Quarterlies, and see confusion worse confounded in their ideas. We have seen two brethren thrown into prison unlawfully, and a single State bid defiance to the Union, and there was not to be found a power that could bring them out—all because of slavery. A noble hearted brother of our own rose up and attempted to defend the oppressed, and lo, a price is set on his head. And do our editors, the guardians of liberty, magnanimously rebuke such arrogant pretensions? No, sir, they are ready to give him up as a victim on the altar of slavery. Sir, if this spirit is allowed to proceed, unchecked by public sentiment, it will soon reduce us all to servitude.

Again—What is this *prejudice*, that lays its iron grasp on our brother? Is it a *harmless* sentiment, that may touch the fibres of the heart without polluting it. The moral agent who yields to this loathsome prejudice, welcomes a corrupt principle to his soul, and how shall he escape its influence? I shall not attempt to be metaphysical, but the very child knows that every wrong desire and every sinful affection grows stronger by indulgence. If we could take up our colored brethren, because we despise their color, and throw them into paradise—into the very bosom of God, it would be our destruction; for the sinful prejudice, indulged—not repented of, would fasten on some new object. Prejudice is not killed, when its victim is removed. There is no way for us to escape from guilt and corruption of heart, but by cordially and joyfully yielding to our colored brethren the sympathies of our common humanity.

We are called together to hear about our being a benevolent people, awake to the strong ties of brotherhood with nations the most distant and the most degraded. And we shall be made to feel for China and Hindostan, and all that. And very likely we shall be told, too, that our colored brethren cannot, in this land, be made the Lord's freemen. Have you ever thought of the influence of this doctrine on Christian benevolence?—You say Christianity itself cannot elevate the blacks in this land. This must be said, or what becomes of those PENS into which we thrust those of them who choose to visit our houses of worship. If the gospel cannot destroy the cords of *caste* in this country, why go to attempt it in Hindostan?—Perhaps some shrewd Brahmin may find out, that Christianity is not able to make an American believer receive his brother as his own mother's son. And he will say to your missionary, "Go home and break the cords of *caste* in your own CHURCHES, before you come here to make the Brahmin and the Soodra mingle together in the charities of life."

I have heard many people say they want to do something for the heathen—they can give but little money—they are not fitted to go on a foreign mission. Why, sir, to meet the case and test the sincerity of such, God has taken up a nation of our poor heathen brethren, and brought them to our own coasts, and scattered them among us. Here they are, scattered and degraded, at our doors. And what is the result?—Why, we have formed a great national society, and employed eloquent agents to traverse the country, and make appeals to the public heart

throughout the length and breadth of the land, to provide the means to take up these perishing heathen, and throw them back upon a barbarous coast, and into the deep shades of a savage forest. If infidelity ever curls its lip in scorn at the claims of Christianity, it must be when we vaunt the power of the gospel to break the proudest heart, and subdue every thing contrary to the law of God, and then, in the same breath, confess that our colored brethren cannot be raised in this country.

But the resolution says, that the "peculiar" condition of our colored brethren, calls for our sympathy and efforts. Is not their claim peculiar? Let any individual put himself in their condition for an hour. This is what the Bible requires. Let him have his family broken up, and his sons and his daughters wrested from his arms and carried into bondage, where he can never hope to set his eyes on them again, while the stricken parent must not give utterance to a single expression of his feelings; must not shed a tear nor utter a groan, without the penalty of the lash. Is there not something peculiar, when we think of our brethren in such a situation. So our Saviour seemed to think, when he uttered the beautiful discourse in the 15th of Luke. The kind shepherd leaves his ninety and nine, while the *one sheep* that is lost absorbs his feelings and occupies his cares and labors until it is restored. The tender mother bends over the couch of *one child* that is sick and dying. She has other children, and she loves them, but she hardly thinks of them; the peculiarity of the sick *one* absorbs her whole soul for the time. Sir, this is nature. It is nature on earth and nature in heaven—in the bosom of man and in the great heart of God. The condition of our colored brethren calls for the most decisive and vigorous exertions for their relief. Ask your own hearts, what they felt when our beloved brother from Kentucky described the condition of the slave. Did not your souls echo back his feelings, and cry "Hurry, hurry, to relieve such fearful misery. It cannot be endured." Sir, this is nature's voice, coming from the deep recesses of the soul, nature, as God made man's nature. And shall our very nature cry and we stifle the sound, or refuse to listen?

God said to the cold-hearted Cain, "Where is Abel thy brother?" He presents us the past generations of slaves, multitudes of whom have gone to the grave literally weltering in their blood, and says to us, Where are those colored brethren? The fratricide was impudent enough to reply, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Shame on the murderer! But what do we say? One man replies, "Consider my situation, I am president of a college, a professor in a theological seminary, surrounded with great responsibilities, I pray thee, have me excused." Another says, "I occupy the pulpit of a large congregation, and depend on public sentiment for my comfortable support, and there is a strong prejudice among my people. I don't keep public sentiment, I must wait till some bold innovator shall strike out a path and wear the cornet, and then you will hear my voice, in behalf of our suffering brethren." Another says, "I am an editor of a newspaper, and my subscription list—you know—" I say, sir, take care, lest the curse of the fratricide come upon you.

For one, I cannot escape from the conviction that our Saviour has presented to us this very case of our colored brethren, in the 25th of Matthew, and pointed them out to us as his appropriate representatives. It seems to have been his design to refer to those who were most distressed and degraded and despised, as the test by which our destiny shall be determined. And when we are called to

give an account for not relieving these poor brethren, the plea of ignorance will be of little avail. "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, ye did it not unto ME." He will not hear our plea, "I did not know that poor, distressed and abject slave was my Judge in disguise."

Mr. ROBERT PURVIS moved that a subscription and collection be now taken up in aid of the Anti-Slavery Society. He expressed a deep feeling of gratitude to God for the interest which was manifested in behalf of those with whom he was classed.

Rev. HENRY G. LUDLOW seconded the resolution. He did it with the more satisfaction, because he believed this meeting to be the funeral of colonization. He had formerly thought he was doing God service when aiding to expatriate the colored people, and send them to the darkness of Africa to get light. But he now saw his error, and hoped to live to counteract it.

The subscription and collection amounted to \$2,253.

Rev. Dr. Cox offered a resolution, that those ministers of the gospel and editors of newspapers, who have exposed the sin of slavery, deserve the thanks of this Society.

He said if he did not hold in his heart, he should go beyond the proper limit in what he wished to say ; but the lateness of the hour constrained him to confine himself. As to those who thought it strange that he should alter his views respecting the people of color, by going to Europe, he would only say, he wished they could themselves go to Europe, and see how the wise and good look with amazement upon our preposterous and wicked feelings towards the people of color. When convinced that he had been wrong, he considered it a privilege to get right. On this subject he had erred, he was convinced of it, he was sorry, and he was willing to say it before the world. He saw there was an analogy between this and the temperance cause. Both are practical, and in principle opposed to visionary theories and dreamy extravagances. The evil attacked in both cases is defended by the cry of "Let us alone." He was prepared to maintain the ground that it was a duty instantly to recognize the colored man as the Lord Jesus Christ recognized him. The Rev. Dr. Ritchie, of Edinburgh, in giving him farewell in an ecclesiastical assembly, said, "I bless God for America, for her temperance and her revivals ; we need them here ; but there is one

thing she needs from us, the principle of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION." And, said Dr. C., I have come to the conviction by calm inquiry and some prayer, that this cause will go, and that it is the only cause which will go.

Mr. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, of Boston, offered a resolution :

That the doctrine of immediate emancipation is sound in principle, and safe in its application ; and that it is the only effectual remedy for a system of oppression which is as abominable in theory as foul in practice.

Mr. Garrison said, that stained as his soul was with guilt, in the estimation of perhaps a majority of his countrymen, for daring to vindicate the cause of an oppressed and guiltless race, if he could, he would gladly deepen the stain by repeating the offence. But the time was too far gone, and he was laboring under a physical hindrance in an oppressive cold. He would only say that if he looked back four years to the time when he lay in Baltimore prison for the crime of exposing the American slave-trade, or if he looked back seven months to the time when a furious mob broke into these very doors seeking his heart's blood, and then contrasted the appearance of this crowded and solemn assembly, it appeared like a dream. He had never doubted the final success of the cause, for he read in the Bible that God remembers the cause of the poor and the oppressed.

Mr. CHARLES STUART, of England, said it was cause of gratitude in his mind, that God had permitted him to land on these beloved shores, just in season to second this resolution. He saw in this meeting a proof that the American Eagle and the Dove of Peace are even now rising clear and casting off the weight that our brother has so beautifully alluded to. He had been pained to hear, just before he left England, that his dear brother, who had just sat down, was denounced in America as a slanderer of his country. William Lloyd Garrison never slandered his country. No man had ever done so much to wipe off from his country the stain which in Britain attaches to your country on account of domestic slavery.

He was also grieved to hear that a report had been circulated here, that Wilberforce, the sainted Wilberforce, signed the celebrated document against colonization under the influence of sickness and the debility of approaching death. It was false. He knew it was done while he was in the full possession of his holy mind, and in the enjoyment of his usual health, *before* he was attacked with the brief sickness which removed him from the world. He knew, too, that so far from having retracted the protest, it formed one of the excellent recollections which cheered his spirit when going into the presence of God, that he had left that testimony in favor of righteousness and humanity, against false political principles and oppressive prejudices. Mr. S. then alluded to the circumstances which made him not a stranger and a foreigner. The ashes of his parents are here, and his sisters lived here, and he came here to be a friend and a brother.

THURSDAY EVENING.—ADJOURNED PUBLIC MEETING,
IN REV. DR. LANSING'S CHURCH.

The American Anti-Slavery Society, by adjournment from the anniversary meeting of Tuesday, in Chatham-street Chapel, assembled again, on Thursday evening at half past 7, in the new church of the Rev. Dr. Lansing in Houston-street. ARTHUR TAPPAN, the President, in the chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. O. Wetmore of Utica.

Rev. S. S. JOCELYN, of New Haven, offered a resolution,

That the American Church is stained with the blood of "the souls of the poor innocents," and holds the keys of the great prison of oppression; that while she enslaves, she is herself enslaved; and that she can never go forth to millennial triumph until she shall wash her hands from blood—open the prison door—and let the oppressed go free.

Mr. Jocelyn proceeded to sustain these positions, as follows. Infants were sacrificed to Moloch by the idolatrous and rebellious Jews. Among the more than two million slaves in this land, there are computed to be more than 500,000 infants, helpless and dependent. These "poor innocents," at their birth, are offered to the Moloch of American oppression. Their entire existence is sacrificed on this bloody and obscene altar. Not less than 200 of these innocents are born daily. Yes! *this day* 200 have been added to the number. And not less than 300,000 of the slaves of this land are held by evangelical Christians! They are held essentially in the same debasing and degrading bondage—subject to the same system of cruelty and oppression with the rest of their race:—denied the means of education—forbidden to read the Bible—unprotected by the laws—uncultured in their minds—unreformed in their morals.

Slavery is a system of pollution. It recognizes not the law of purity. It knows no marriage for the slave. It annuls the seventh command of the decalogue. It is a common thing for a female slave, a member of a church, to change husbands, and yet remain in fellowship with the church! This is done because females, as well as males, are sold from one plantation to another, as the interests or necessities of the masters require, and husbands and wives are separated, to see each other's faces no more. And there are not wanting Christians and ministers to justify this breach of the commands of God, on the part of the slaves, on account of the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed. Yet the laws and practices which create these circumstances are permitted to go unreprieved.

Again, there are churches whose *funds* for the support of the ministry consist, not in glebe lands or money at interest, but in *slaves*! the flesh and bones, and

bodies and souls of men! It is computed that at least three hundred Christian ministers hold slaves, not merely a few household domestics, but gangs of field slaves, to cultivate large plantations. Many ministers, even from the north, become large slave-holders. This is frequently in consequence of their becoming connected in marriage with a wealthy heiress of a slave fortune. As the Canaanitish women were snares to God's ancient people, and led them into the most abominable practices, and the most grievous departures from God; even so in our own nation at this time, a most fruitful source of corruption to the church is the unhallowed alliances of Christians with families whose houses were founded in blood. And is not the church thus stained with blood? Is not the blood of the "poor innocents" found in her skirts?

2. The resolution charges the church with holding the keys of the great prison of oppression. Slavery, the world over, is that great prison. Its doors are not broken by violence. No. They are unlocked only by moral power. But the moral power of the whole world is held by the church. The keys of the prison are in her hands. But she refuses to unlock the doors. How was it in England? The church there held the keys, and so long as she refused to unlock the doors, the slave remained in bondage. But when, by the instrumentality of her Clarkson and her Wilberforce, she unlocked the doors, (if indeed it be done)—then the mandate went forth, that the captives be made free. The American church now holds the same key, and refuses to unlock the doors of the prison. She does it at the south—by her general example. There may be individual exceptions, but in general terms it may be said her members are oppressors. She does it, by decrying discussion—and by the influence of her religious press. Has the southern church ever petitioned for the repeal of the slave laws? Has she even *asked* that the horrible system of abomination should be done away? Has she been ashamed, or could she blush? The Methodist church in its Conferences, and the Presbyterian church in its General Assembly, has sanctioned slavery. The Methodist church by altering her salutary discipline:—the Presbyterian church by blotting out, in 1818, the noble testimony against the oppression, which, until then, had stood recorded in its standards. Among the Baptist, the Episcopalian, and other churches, no favorable movement on the subject has been made. The Friends, indeed, a long time since, took a correct stand, but they stood alone. And at the north, the church refuses to unlock the prison—by apologizing for the sins of the south—by making exceptions and provisos where the law of God has made none—by fostering unholy hatred and prejudice—by denying the power of the gospel to eradicate the hatred she cherishes—by her pulpits—by her presses—by her reviews—by upholding the prejudice that upholds slavery—by adducing Scripture in its support—by caressing slave-holders—by denouncing emancipation—by branding even her members as cut-throats, incendiaries, fire brands, and madmen, whenever they utter a note of remonstrance or of warning. Here is a moral power, but wielded as Satan would have it wielded. Her's are the keys: but the doors are closed, and the church refuses to open them. Yes! In the church is lodged the moral power of the nation. But it is a moral power prostituted in prolonging the system of outrage, pollution and death.

3. But, sir, while enslaving, the church is herself enslaved. At the south she is enslaved by her fears—by conscious guilt—by her vexations—by her slave-stained luxuries—by sensuality—by her poverty in pecuniary means. With a defiled conscience—inconstant in love and fickle in action—the practical enemy

of man, soul and body—Oh, how is the southern church enslaved! and notwithstanding her splendid papal delusion of an oral instruction that can supersede the necessity of the written word of God, how grovelling is her standard of Christian duty and enterprise. And the northern church, too, is enslaved—by her syco-phancy—by her silence—by her prejudice. Poisoned, shut up, with the fetters on her feet, and a death chill in her veins, the whole church is enslaved. The whole head is sick and the whole heart is faint.

And now, sir, how is this enslaved and languid church, defiled as she is with guilt, and steeped in the “blood of the poor innocents”—with all this moral apathy and mental imbecility—aye—and with all this practical infidelity, how is she to go forth to millennial triumph? How shall *she* give knowledge, that withhold education? How imitate papists, and destroy the beast? How withhold the Bible, and convince the heathen? How throw down the bloody altars of human sacrifice, and yet sacrifice souls to slavery?

Never, no, never can the church begin her millennial warfare, till cleansed of this pollution. Even her prayer shall become *sia*.—“When ye make many prayers I will not hear.” “Wash you—make you clean. Put away the evil of your doings. Cease to do evil. Learn to do well.”

Yes. The church must repent. At the north and at the south must she repent, and do works meet for repentance. Deliver the captive. Plead for the oppressed. Raise high the moral standard. Unfold the depths of this iniquity, and let them be seen and read of all men.

Oh, sir! we may boast of our benevolent institutions and of our revivals in vain, in vain, till we are washed of this blood! We are holding back the latter day glory. Oh let us arise, and banish prejudice and oppression. Brothers, sisters, fathers, listen. Time is short. The judgment will soon set. Alas! if the “blood of the innocents” shall then be laid on our own souls! Rather let us break off our iniquities by righteousness, and our transgressions by showing mercy to the poor. Then shall the light of our Zion go forth like brightness: Every knee shall bow and every tongue confess that Jesus is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Brooklyn, Conn. offered a resolution,

That Christians in the non-slave-holding States, of every denomination, are under the highest obligations to do all that can be done by Christian means, to procure the immediate abolition of slavery.

Long enough, said Mr. May, have we denied to our brethren the bread of life. Long enough have we bid defiance to the vengeance of Heaven. See that vengeance already begun. See it in the abominations that have been described to us. See it in the terrors by day and the fears by night. See it in the distraction of our public councils—in the mildew that is blighting our wealth—in the pollution that is threatening our fire sides. See it, in our harmony disturbed, in our institutions tottering.

I call on you, therefore, to resolve that we, as Christians, and as citizens of the non-slave-holding States, will do all in our power for the immediate removal of the guilty cause of these judgments.—Will it be said that the people of the non-slave-holding States have “no right to interfere” in the matter? Is this indeed

so? Have we no part in the work of oppression? Have we no interests at stake? No responsibilities to sustain? And shall we have no lot in the bloody tragedy that must one day wind up this stupendous drama of oppression and retribution? Do our southern brethren so understand the matter? In pursuit of their fugitive victims, do they expect no aid from us? No support from our laws? No assistance from our police and our officers? Have the troops maintained by us nothing to do towards suppressing slave insurrections? And in case of a servile war, is no dependence placed on northern steel and northern nerve and discipline to put down and extinguish what—in our revolutionary fathers—we call the “noble spirit of liberty?” Are all these responsibilities heaped upon us and have we no rights to counterbalance or sustain them? Have we nothing to do, and must we have nothing to say? Shall we be told that we have no right to utter a word of advice, or remonstrance, or warning, or entreaty, in a case where our dearest interests and most important moral conduct is involved?

But the constitution, it will be said, the constitution sanctions slavery, and it is treason to impeach the constitution. I deny it.—Neither slavery nor slaves are mentioned in the constitution. The words are not there. The instrument is carefully guarded against their introduction; a plain indication that its framers would have blushed to see them there, and anticipated the time when their readers would have no need nor occasion to be reminded of them.—But what if it were otherwise? Suppose the constitution did sanction slavery? What then? While there is a God in Heaven, who regards mercy and equity, can we be bound, by any compacts of our own, or any enactments of our fellow worms to sin against Him? Are we indeed to obey man rather than God? Who is it that would thus trifle with the holy and righteous sovereignty of his Creator? Not the Christians of the non-slaveholding States, I would hope, sir! No—Our safety as well as our duty, as a people and as individuals, consists simply in filial and implicit obedience to the God who made us and sustains us, and in whose hands are our destinies.

Much as I prize the union of these States, sir, and sure I am no man nor Christian *ought* to prize it higher than I do, I am every day grieved to hear so much said of the value of our Union, and so little of the value of the approbation of God, as though his favor would be purchased too dear if it involved the interruption of a partnership in sin. Sir, this nation must be roused to a sense of our dependence on God, or we are lost. We have slumbered too long. Too long have we closed our ears to the cry of the helpless.

When I speak of this horrible oppression, I speak, sir, not of individual cases of suffering. I speak of the entire system. I define it by its own bloody code. I open the pages of its statute book; and no man who knows either men or history needs be told that the general practices of a people are not *more* equitable and merciful than their laws. Let the depths of this iniquity be fathomed by this measure, if we would learn its dimensions. By the laws which sustain slavery, millions of human beings are held as chattels. Yes, sir, they are driven along the streets of Washington, with less of liberty than cattle, in the sight of that proud capital, where the national flag is flying, and where so many fine things are *said* in favor of liberty. By those same laws, the slave is placed beyond the *protection* of law! He is shut out from the social charities of life. The tenderest ties that twine around his heart are severed. A home and a family he may not claim. No: nor even a Bible to teach him the sources of consolation.

Can there be greater sin than this? And *who* has authorized a delay of

repentance for sin ? Who will accredit a repentance that brings not forth fruits meet for repentance ? Who, then, shall cavil against the doctrine of immediate emancipation ?

It is still asked by the objector--Shall we set loose 2,000,000 of vagabonds to ravage the land and cut our throats ? No. By no means. This is *not* emancipation. We would have them placed under the protection and the restraints of law, instead of being removed from either. We would have them provided with employ and remunerated with equitable wages. We would have them educated, Christianized, and elevated to the rank of human beings. The knocking off of the fetters is but a small part, the mere beginning of the work we propose ; and we well know that this must be done first, as the only foundation and corner stone of the edifice. Slavery, we well know, *permits* not education ; nor *can* the mind be educated until it is first set free. You might as well talk of learning an imprisoned child to run before you permit his feet to be taken from the stocks, as to talk of educating the slave while you still hold him in bondage. No, sir. The rights of man must first be recognized, before any thing else can be done, and this cannot be done too soon. We propose to do this by Christian means, and by these alone. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal. Palsied be the arm that would unsheathe the sword of violence. Our appeal is to the consciences of the slave-holders themselves ; and we plead with them as man to man, as brother to brother, and as friend to friend.

Rev. S. L. POMEROY, of Bangor, Maine, remarked, that though invited to speak, he had been furnished with no resolution, and should speak without the formality of presenting any.

Abolitionists were accused of setting a low value on the Union. It was false. Slavery is the cause of all our divisions, and we ask for its abolition as the only means of preserving the Union.

We are also accused of cowardice, and of vain and useless effort, because we do not go to the south to preach abolition. Yet these same objectors are the most forward to remind us of the fact, that the southern laws forbid the agitation of the subject there, and would *they* justify our infraction of the slave laws ? Certainly not. For even the Christian slave-holder himself is white-washed into spotless innocence, in their eyes, because he holds his slaves very reluctantly, it is said—in praiseworthy obedience to the laws, which forbid manumission. Doubtless then, the persons who accuse us of cowardice for delaying a southern anti-slavery agency, would be far from justifying us, should we fall the victims of disobedience to southern laws. Perhaps—but I will not allow myself to believe it—they would willingly see us try the experiment at the risk of our lives.

Life has been jeopardized by anti-slavery effort, even at the north. And, besides, How does it appear that we are not effectually preaching abolition to the people of the south ? Why all this commotion, just at the present time, from the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico ? Why all these curses and anathemas that come back to us through every mail, are borne on every breeze ; and on account of which our consistent opposers conjure us to beware, lest they should dissolve the Union ? Has all this happened while the south remains in profound ignorance of our efforts—of our doctrines—of our reproofs—of our warnings—of our

appeals—and of the principles and the facts we are sending forth over the nation? No, sir. The supposition is ridiculous on the very face of it. Be assured, sir, we ARE “preaching anti-slavery at the south,” with a pungency and a power that makes Satan himself tremble on his throne of oppression, and all his affrighted legions cry out, “Let us alone!” Remember, sir, I pray you, when and where it was that this fiend-like cry was first heard. It was in a circle where stood a man possessed of an unclean spirit. What was it that disturbed the horde of demons? Why, the “LIGHT OF THE WORLD” was in the room, sir, and they were in agony unutterable. And so it is now. It is *light*—LIGHT—LIGHT—the glorious light of the Gospel of the Son of God that has penetrated the dark caverns of blood and pollution, and listen! from Louisiana to Maine, the land rings with the death-scream, “Let us alone!”

Analyze for a moment the sentiment contained in it. Look through the earth, sir, and see *who* they are that would be “let alone.” The murderer, the pirate, the midnight assassin, the midnight libertine, the traitor, the slanderer, the lawless citizen, the disobedient child, the slave-trader, the slave-holder, the slave apologist; these, with one united voice, on every radiation of heavenly truth and day-light, cry out, “*Let us alone!*” And what is their meaning, sir? Leave us without law, without restraint, without any check to our lusts, without any rein to our passions. Cause the Holy One of Israel to cease from before us.

Sir, this disturbance in the south conclusively proves that the lights we are kindling *do* shine there. Let us trim them incessantly, and keep them constantly burning. And let us not fear to increase their brightness.

Mr. P. said he had resided at the south, and knew something of slaves and the slave system. And among other things he knew that the southern country was *not* ignorant of what was said and done in other sections of the country and in distant lands. When the subject of West India Emancipation was under discussion in Parliament, a Georgia planter was heard to say: “Let these resolutions be carried into effect in the West Indies, and in six months I shall see the effect on my slaves.”

Abolition, and that *only* is safe. Surely there is no safety in the present state of things, nor *can* there be safety in the continuance of the slave system. Mr. Chairman! thousands of our fellow-citizens of the south will go to bed to-night with their loaded pistols under their pillows, and their muskets over the mantel piece. And why is this? *They are unsafe*; and they know it. How idle, then, to inquire whether *emancipation* be safe? What question can be more ridiculous? In plain English, what is its import? Here are persons forcibly held in a condition so degraded that it is *unsafe* for those who hold them to live among them. This is a known and admitted fact. And now we inquire very gravely, whether it would be *safe to release* these persons from the condition too revolting to them? What an absurdity!

No people on earth are of a more mild, forgiving, and patient character, than the colored race. This is the testimony of travellers in Africa, and the long continued oppressions and yet continued peace and quiet of our own country, bears equally decisive testimony to the same fact.

“But the slaves are very well treated,” we are told. Are they? I will tell you how they are treated. They are allowed a peck of corn a week, to live upon. The support of an adult slave, including food, clothing, and every thing else, costs about thirty dollars a year. The field laborers go almost naked;

(the children entirely so, in many cases.) They are driven to the field with the whip. They have no privileges except what their masters *please* to give them. Whatever is done to them, they have no redress. They are "*treated*" as property. They may be killed, and if no white person sees it, the murderer cannot be punished. The testimony of ever so many colored persons, whether slaves or freemen, would go for nothing. Rather, I should say, no such testimony can be received. The master can do what he pleases with his slaves, and they cannot help themselves. If he wants to take a little child from his father and mother, and sell him to be carried a thousand miles off, he can do it, and *no* person, either white or colored, can hinder him. If he wants to take a man's wife away from him, either to sell her or for any other purpose, he can do it, and *nobody* can hinder him. And these things are done every day. They are so common that scarcely any body, at the south, considers it any strange thing, or thinks any thing about it. I remember seeing an old man crying bitterly, and begging a lady, who lived near him, to buy his little boys, because his master was about to sell them to be carried to Louisiana, where he could never see them more. But the lady did not want them, and they were sold and carried away.

This is the way the slaves are *treated*. If any body thinks "*they are very well treated*," let them make the case their own, and ask themselves whether they would think *themselves* "well treated;" and their wives and children "very well treated;" if they were treated in this manner. Whatsoever ye would that others should do to you, do ye even so unto them, for this is the law and the prophets. Suppose you were yourself a slave; and suppose your wife and children were slaves with you. What would you wish should be done unto you? And *how soon* would you wish to have it done? What would you wish your masters to do, and what would you wish every body who knew your condition to do for you. Answer these questions, and you will have answered the great question of your own duty.

Mr. H. B. STANTON, of Lane Seminary, Ohio, offered a resolution to the following effect :

That the American Anti-Slavery Society, by its doctrine that prejudice is vincible, commends itself to the patriot and the Christian.

The doctrine that prejudice against the colored people was vincible, Mr. S. maintained to be a distinctive and *fundamental* principle of the abolitionists, and adopted by the American Anti-Slavery Society. The Colonization Society was founded on not merely different but opposite ground. That the colored people were subjected to the operation of an invincible prejudice which could never be removed, and in consequence of which they could never rise in this country, was the corner stone of their whole edifice. Take away this and the whole fabric vanishes. Remove this prejudice, and the society is dissolved instantaneously. [Mr. Stanton read extracts from the African Repository sustaining his positions.]

The American Anti-Slavery Society grants the *fact* of the *existence* of this prejudice. It also grants, that during the predominance of this prejudice the colored people can never rise in this country. Thus far they agreed with the Colonization Society. But they contended that this prejudice was visible; that being a sin it could be repented of, being a folly it could be cured. They do not

slander human nature and blaspheme Christianity, by saying that neither reason nor religion can overcome or eradicate it.

The Colonizationists acknowledge, indeed, the criminality of this prejudice; they profess to deplore it, but still insist that it cannot be overcome.

But while acknowledging the criminality of this prejudice, and professedly adapting their measures to the relief of the innocent sufferers who experience the persecutions growing out of it, the Colonization Society throws all the blame of that prejudice on PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

Let us analyze this plea. What is public sentiment? It is the sentiment of the majority of individuals of whom the public is composed.

On the subject in question there are but *two* ingredients in the public sentiment of this country. We all know what they are. They are the sentiments of the abolitionists and the sentiments sustaining the Colonization Society. By the Colonization Society I mean those who cherish expatriating sentiments in respect to the colored people.

In order to know, then, who compose the public sentiment of the country, we have only to compare the relative strength of the Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies; and this is no difficult task. The Colonization Society looks down upon the Anti-Slavery Society as upon a feeble band of visionary fanatics, while it claims for itself all the efficient and predominating influences of the country: The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, almost all other ecclesiastical bodies, together with the prominent statesmen of all political parties, and the legislatures of eighteen different States, not to mention the almost unanimous voice of the public presses of the country; these, we know, are daily claimed with exultation by the Colonization Society, as proof of their overwhelming control over public sentiment, and of the folly and madness of abolitionists in attempting to oppose them. The resources of the country are undoubtedly in their hands. The great body of all the learned professions are with them.

Who *are* they then, that exercise, direct, and wield the *public sentiment*, in respect to the colored people? Are they those who care nothing about the subject? Certainly not;—Are they abolitionists? We all know better. It follows then, with the certainty of mathematical demonstration, that they are the Colonizationists. Yes; the criminal *public sentiment*, that grinds down with an unrelenting prejudice the colored people, is the same public sentiment that supports the Colonization Society, and is wielded by it.

Suppose a man, without any other fault than the color or shape of his hat, should become odious to his neighbors to an extent amounting to a *public sentiment*. By this public sentiment he is ground down to the dust, oppressed, forbidden a seat in the sanctuary, a privilege in the seminary, and a vote at the polls. A few only in the neighborhood remonstrate against this prejudice, and plead for its abandonment; while, on the other side, a Colonization Society is got up—a very benevolent and Christian-like institution, Mr. Chairman, to colonize this unfashionable hat and its wearer out of the neighborhood. What would candid and unprejudiced people think of it? And how would it appear if this Colonization Society, while urging its expatriating scheme, and giving as a reason for its support the consideration that the man with the unsightly hat “can never rise to a respectable standing in this” neighborhood, should, at the same time, cast all the blame of the wicked prejudice against the persecuted man, upon the *public senti-*

ment of the village ? Who could fail to see and to remark that the public sentiment under condemnation, was their *own* sentiment, and that *they* alone were responsible for its existence ?

I concede, sir, that it is the *public sentiment* that is at fault in this matter. See, sir, its despotic dominion, its hypocritical pretensions ! See where it tramples an unoffending brother in the dust, with a drawn dagger in its right hand. Hear its heaven-daring language—mark its fiend-like action. “It is a cruel prejudice,” says the tyrant, “that this poor man lies under. What can be done for him ?”—And as he says this, he stamps under his feet his victim, struggling to rise. “He can never rise in this country—he must be colonized”—tramples again, as he says this, and then adds—“It is a cruel prejudice, I know, but how can I help it ?” With this, he stabs his down-trodden brother with the dagger, and then adds—“It is lamentable—it is wrong”—and with that he stabs him again ; and as his right hand gives the plunging blow, his left hand adroitly catches the victim from under his own feet, and “with his own consent,” [it is said !] tosses him across the water to Africa !

Mr. Chairman, is not the power of this city decidedly in favor of colonization ? And is there not likewise in this same city a cruel public sentiment against the colored people ? Can you separate the one from the other ? And is it not self-evident that the only reason *why* the public sentiment of New York is in favor of expatriation is, *because* there exists in the same public sentiment a cruel prejudice against the people intended to be colonized ? Look at Maryland—look through the land, and tell me whether the “cruel prejudice” against the colored man is not identical with the desire for his expatriation.

And the Colonization Society, wielding, as it does, the public sentiment, and borne along by it—the Colonization Society, with the clergy and the statesmen, with the literati and the colleges, with the press and the learned professions, with the ecclesiastical authorities and the eighteen legislatures at its bidding, has the same power in respect to SLAVERY that it has in respect to the FREE colored people. It is THE PUBLIC SENTIMENT OF THE NATION, and may do what it pleases.

On the Colonization Society, therefore, rests the *responsibility*—I know the respectability of the gentlemen composing the Society in this city and elsewhere. Far be it from me to speak of them with disrespect. I would render honor to whom honor is due. But I must remind them of the responsibility which honor confers. Theirs is the power of the nation, and I roll upon them—the Milnors, the Springs, the Frelinghuysens, the Marshalls, the Madisons of this city and of this nation, the tremendous responsibility of the elevation or the expatriation, the freedom or continued slavery of two and a half millions of their countrymen—of their brethren, for whom Christ died.

How does the Colonization Society discharge these responsibilities ? [In answer to this inquiry Mr. Stanton read extracts from the African Repository, and from the Memorial of the N. Y. City Colonization Society, showing that so far from casting an influence in favor of the colored people, either bond or free, the Colonization influence had been decidedly against them. “We do not ask,” said they, “for any modifications of the constitution or the laws,” &c. *What laws ?* Mr. S. then read abstracts from the slave laws prohibiting education—rendering the power of the master despotic, debarring the slave from redress, &c. &c.]

Such, sir, continued Mr. S., is the Colonization Society. The Anti-Slavery Society takes opposite ground. It contends that prejudice is vincible—that error

can be renounced—that folly can be cured—that sin can be repented of—that the white man can become a Christian, and the colored man his brother. Prejudice is proved to be vincible, because it has nothing to stand upon, because it has been overcome in other countries, because it is beginning to be renounced in ours, and because the gospel is the power of God unto salvation from this, as from every other sin.

Shall we hold our public anniversaries and talk of converting the world?—Shall we preach millennial sermons and celebrate the triumphs of the cross over Hindoo caste? Shall we storm the wall of China, and expect to dethrone the Man of Sin, and yet bow down before the selfish hatred of the American white man towards his colored brother, and declare it to be invincible? No, sir,—never; not while we hold the Bible in our hands. Not while we can retain the memory of its precepts or the consolation of its promises.

Mr. DAVID RUGGLES asked permission to say a few words.—As a colored man he wished to give vent to his feelings on the present occasion. A star of hope for his down-trodden race had at length arisen, and he rejoiced to hail its bright beams. He wished also to give utterance to the unanimous protest of the intelligent free colored people against an oppression no less cruel in its character and little less injurious in its operation than that under which their southern brethren still groaned. It was an oppression, not indeed of the body, but of the mind. Its fetters were forged, not for the limbs, but for the soul. An oppression which by denying even the *possibility* of our mental and moral elevation in this country, discountenanced our efforts, misled our friends, and emboldened our enemies. An oppression which produces enactments against our schools, and sustains legislative provisions for thrusting us out of our native land. It was the oppression of colonization.

They tell us that this monster of corruption came from heaven; but, sir, history informs us that it came from Virginia. The egg was laid in the Virginia legislature, and there the spider was hatched, that has ever since been crawling northward, from State to State, weaving its web to catch us, colored men, as if we were flies,

Rev. S. L. POMEROY, (while a collection was taking up,) added a few remarks illustrative of the safety of immediate emancipation. The South American Republics had found no evils to arise from it. More than 30,000 Hottentots had also been emancipated without serious inconvenience. He corrected the popular error respecting St. Domingo, and showed that the horrors of the insurrection in that island resulted not from the emancipation of the slaves, (which was peacefully effected, and produced much prosperity for years,) but from the despotic attempts of the French to reduce them again to bondage.

Mr. THOME, of Kentucky, said he did not expect to speak this evening, but, in the absence of Dr. COX, who had been expected at this hour, he was called on. And he considered himself called on, in justice to himself, to the cause he had espoused, and to the State of which he would say he was still proud to be a citizen, to remark on some of the severe strictures which some respected brethren from Kentucky had made concerning his former statements. He was prepared to substantiate by evidence every fact he had stated, but at this late hour he could not take the time. He had contemplated a full reply on another occasion, but this would be the last time the subject would be noticed here. I do not desire to recriminate. I shall not speak personalities. Personalities! My heart did bleed, sir, at the exhibitions which I witnessed yesterday. Not that I was exposed to obloquy. What am I, sir,—what is Mr. Breckinridge—what are we all, in this matter? Here are three millions of our brethren groaning under oppression and cruelty. And this is not all. Here are great principles concerned, the principles of the word of God—the principles on which the eternal throne of God itself is established. And shall *we* thrust forward our little selves before such a question, in the face of the world? No, sir, let me, let you, Mr. President, let all of us fall, if need be, but let this great subject be handled without descending to personalities.

Two statements have been denied, which I deemed it my duty to make. One is, that I said there is no editor in the west, who is willing to risk his living by vindicating the rights of the people of color. I was surprised, I confess, to hear that denied. And what was the refutation? Why, that in 1824—I—edited an abolition paper. Very well, suppose it were so, I spoke not of times past, but of what is *now* the fact. And I repeat it, now there is none.

The other statement respected the licentiousness of the slave kitchens. I am glad it was denied, because it will afford an opportunity to draw out the evidence to corroborate it. What I stated was not from observation that was narrow, but that was extensive, both personal, and by inquiry and information of others. I stated, that the lodges of the slaves were exposed at all hours of the night. And that was not denied. I say then, that in the absence of further evidence, that circumstance alone is sufficient to prove that the results would be as I have stated. What other could be the effect of such a condition? I have been called upon to retract. Sir, I cannot retract a word. Would to God I could do it. If truth, which I knew, would allow it, I would heartily yield to him as my elder. But I again repeat what I said. The slave States are Sodoms, and well nigh every village kitchen is a brothel. I can account for the denial of these brethren. Such gentlemen may very honestly deny these statements, because the true state of things is not generally perceived. It is too true that masters are, to a great extent, unconcerned about the moral condition of their slaves. This is true even of ministers and elders, and church members. Generally all that masters are concerned for, in regard to their habits, is that the slave is at home in the morning, ready to work in season all day, and then go home.

I know an instance in the village where I live, that things were transacted which I cannot name before this assembly, in the kitchen of a respectable family, and not an individual of the family knew of it. It is a general fact, that respectable young men, throughout our villages, live in constant habits of intercourse with colored females. Yet such individuals as these may know nothing of it, and be shocked if you tell them it is so. And is their denial to be taken against the obser-

vation and knowledge of others? The business of such men as Mr. Breckinridge is a reason why they should not know these things. But there are others who do know. There are females in this city, who will aver that I have not overstated. A minister of the gospel, whose name I do not know, met me as I came out of the chapel the other night, and said he had lived in the southern States, and he told me I had said what he knew to be true of slave villages. He did not believe there was an exception. Very little is said about it. The world is kept dark, ministers are kept dark, the north is in the dark. I have stated the fact, that the north may awake to it, and awake us too. If my fellow-citizens of Kentucky knew how it was, would they remain indifferent? Would they not rise and throw off the reproach? Would they cherish, and would they tolerate for a day, the horrid system of slavery, which yields such fruits?—Oh, no!

Rev. E. M. P. WELLS, of Boston, said he had just conversed with a clergyman who left the south in consequence of slavery, and who told him that what the gentleman from Kentucky said was true, and he had not told half of what was true. And he thought these statements came with peculiar propriety and power from a *young man*. The evil was terrible among young men. He believed there was scarcely a young man in the south but what was more or less contaminated with this sin.

Rev. Dr. Cox arose and said he had been detained till this late hour by an engagement in another part of the city, in behalf of the seamen of this port. He had come to this meeting, grieved and awed, for fear it was out of his power to do good by speaking.

Said he, I am no man's enemy, I shall denounce no one, I am not a partisan, and will not be. But I have a set of *principles*, on practical subjects, which I do regard as true and important, and which I mean to sustain at all events. It is a point that, to my mind, is easily demonstrable, that the colored population will exist here, with us and our posterity, to the end of time. I as much believe it as I believe that this nation will exist. If this be so, then the question comes up—What ought I to do, as a pilgrim to immortality, and an expectant of judgment, to help to elevate, and improve, and bless them? Another point which follows is, that if the people of color cannot be elevated in this country, they can be elevated no where. But why can they not be elevated here? Sir, there is an antecedent difficulty, with which we are first concerned. We want to cure the blacks, but

our first concern lies in another quarter. Is it not the first thing requisite to emancipate the WHITES from prejudice ?

And here, I suppose, I shall be met with the standing objection about amalgamation. Will you encourage inter-marriages between blacks and whites ? The minds of many persons seem to run constantly upon this topic ; but, for my part, I cannot see that it has any thing to do with the question. Let me illustrate. The Jews, we all know, are a separate people, distinct from all others, scattered by the providence of God, for wonderful purposes, among all nations, and yet mixing with none. Now suppose (what I am happy to say is not the case in *this* country) the Jews were here persecuted, deprived of the equal rights of citizenship, with a powerful prejudice against them, and that we were, some of us, convinced that they ought to be enfranchised. That is my word, sir,—ENFRANCHISED : I like that better than *emancipated*. Emancipation is too limited, too narrow, too small. What I ask for our colored brethren is that they should be immediately admitted to share with us in the blessings of equal citizenship. Now suppose we were to make a plea for the Jews, that they should be immediately enfranchised. Would it be pertinent for an objector to interpose an inquiry whether we intended to intermarry with the Jews ? Would not a single grain of common sense teach him that with the question of franchisement, the question of intermarriage has nothing at all to do.

Let us do our duty, sir, and enfranchise our colored people, according to their equal rights. And then if they rise in virtue and goodness, so as to command and deserve our respect, let them have it. I asked a southern brother to-day, whether the oath of a colored man would be taken in a court of justice, in regard to any oppression which may come upon them, and he confessed it would not. Their oath is nothing worth. We do not let them swear ; we do not allow them to peril their souls ; they have no souls, no responsibility beyond the grave. Sir, is this right ? They have no one to defend their rights, no orator to plead for them, no press to enlighten or to defend them, no pulpit to tell the truth—I mean, to tell the truth in its full force and bearing concerning this subject. I believe every pulpit is under fear, and multitudes are afraid to touch the subject of slavery at all. Is it not dreadful ? Should not their rights be *immediately* recognised ? What is gradualism ? Sir, when people ask that they should be *gradually* redressed, it means an indefinite postponement of the matter : just as Felix said, “ Go thy way for this time.” His meaning was, that he hoped he should not be troubled any more with the matter : he never wanted to hear any more about it. If we allow the principle of gradualism, we emasculate the law of God upon the subject.

We tell sinners to repent immediately. That it is their duty and their happiness, we all admit. But do we gain that object in all who hear us ? Certainly not. What then ? If all men do not repent immediately, is the law of God altered ! Sir, the lofty cause of universal enfranchisement is identified with the position of God as Lord of the New Testament. What we wish and what we mean to do is, to tell men who hold slaves what is their duty and their privilege to do immediately. We want to tell them of an evil that is among them, and that grows when they wake and when they sleep. The worst thing, and the best thing too, in this doctrine of enfranchisement, is that it makes people feel, it reaches their consciences. We tell every individual that it is right immediately to leave off doing wrong. We tell legislatures that it is their duty to revise their codes immediately, and legislate right instead of wrong. Let their laws be no

longer, like those of Draco, written in blood ; but let them be equal to all subjects, without regard to the mere accident of color.

I cannot leave the subject without a word in regard to the rival plan. I knew Dr. Finley. He was my neighbor in New Jersey. I would not speak of him with out respect. Why cannot we speak of a plan, without being charged with an impeachment of the person. If the Secretary of the Colonization Society, whom I am happy to see in the assembly, alleges the purity of the motives of the founders, my reply is, that this is nothing to the argument. We may easily suppose that men with good motives should fall upon a plan that is mistaken or impracticable. May we not say so, and prove it too, without an impeachment of motives. And yet, I cannot read his own printed documents, without seeing that a motive operated on his mind, which I do not believe is sanctioned by the word of God. I have read his writings. He enumerates three advantages which we may expect from the success of this scheme. The first is, that we shall get clear of them. I ask the God who made them my brethren with a dark complexion, Is this a right motive ? What right have we to seek to "get clear of them," when they say they do not wish to go ? Why have they not as much right here as ourselves ? I am not opposed to colonization if individuals wish to go, they are an exception to the rule. The body of them wish to stay. But if these exceptions think they can do good or better their condition, let them go. And if any benevolent friends wish to aid them, let them do so. But if you call it an American Colonization Society, and hold it up as a great national institution, it takes new ground, and assumes the aspect of a remedy for a great national evil. I ask what mean all the arguments we read and hear in favor of colonization, if it is not held up as such a remedy ? I speak on this subject as constrained in conscience, when I say that I do not see how the two can stand together. I know no man who heartily loves the one, that does not dislike the other. And I do not see how colonization can stand on the consent of the people of color, when if you ask them they almost unanimously say, No. It is true there are some at the south who are willing to go ; but it is where they have less freedom and less intelligence, and where with many the alternative is intolerable oppression if not perpetual bondage. I ask if this ought to nullify the united voice of the enlightened free ? Then I look at the waste of life, compared to which the cholera, as it prevailed in this city, is salubrious. The ratio of decimation in the Roman armies used to be thought a horrible punishment ; but it was merciful compared to the slaughter to which colonization subjects our people of color. The society sends out, not the intelligent, the enterprising, the men to lay foundations and provide for future generations. It sends out many poor people, and throws them there without help and without friends ; and without employment and without hope,—it is no wonder they die.

It is proposed by those who have not looked into the matter, to let the two enterprises stand together. I groped a long time on that middle ground. But I was crowded with the question, Is the consent of the people of color of no account ? If such brethren would go to Europe, they would find that there was meaning in the inquiry which I heard from such a man as Dr. Chalmers, "Are the colored *men* willing to go ?" That word "*men*" impressed my mind. Considering them as *men*, how can they consent ? Their refusal grows out of their nature as men. Put yourselves in their soul's stead and see if you could consent—if you could consent to be banished from your own country to the wilds of Africa, under such circumstances, and for such a reason.

Sir, it is not my object to "get clear of them." And for two reasons. *First*, it is impracticable. And *second*, it is wicked to wish it. I ask, if Jesus Christ, who understands expediency at least as well as any politician of modern times; if he were on earth, would *he try* to get these people out of the country of light, into the darkness of Africa.

What then ought we to do? In the first place, we must not forget to pray. If we prayed more, we should not get heated, and we should respect each other. And prayer will give us relief. God sees the difficulty in which we are, and he can give deliverance. There is no straightness to which his arm is incompetent. He has none of our prejudice to contend with, for in Christ Jesus, there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free. And he can lead us in the right way. Let us go kindly to work, to enlighten the public mind. Let us use hard arguments, strong facts, and kind language. Do not denounce, do not judge of principles by prejudice, nor make the rash expressions of an advocate the ground of condemnation for his object. Let us look at it in the light of eternity, and always bear in mind that we shall soon stand before Christ. And God will bring us all out right. The fundamental principle of our cause, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," is the eternal law of humanity, and is written on the consciences of mankind, and with this in our hands, and a God of mercy and justice on our side, we shall succeed.

The meeting was detained in strict attention to a very late hour by the interest of the occasion, and the kind and Christian spirit which Messrs. Thome and Cox exhibited in reference to the personal obloquy and ridicule that had been thrown on them at the Colonization meeting on Wednesday.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING FOR BUSINESS.

THE Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was held at the Chatham-st. Chapel, in the City of New York, on Tuesday morning, 6th of May, 1834.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, President, in the Chair; and WILLIAM GOODELL, Secretary protem. Prayer by the Rev. THOMAS WILLIAMS.

Present, the following delegates: Rev. S. L. Pomeroy, of the Anti-Slavery Society of Bangor and vicinity, (Maine); Thomas Williams, William Chace and John Prentice, of Providence Anti-Slavery Society; Stephen Peet, of the Western Reserve A. S. Society; William Smith, of Oneida Institute; Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, of Salem and Vicinity A. S. Society; H. Kingsbury, N. R. Haskell, of Cleveland, Ohio; Rev. John Frost, Whitestown A. S. Society; Edwin A. Stillman and E. P. Wetmore, of Middletown A. S. Society; Rev. Joshua Leavitt, A. Tappan, L. Tappan, John Rankin, William Green, Jr., E. Wright Jr., William

Goodell and Abraham L. Cox, of New York; J. B. Loring, York Town, New York; Rev. O. Wetmore, of Utica; Rev. Beriah Green, of Whitestown; Rev. George Bourne, of New-York; Rev. A. A. Phelps, Boston; James A. Thome and Henry B. Stanton, of Lane Seminary; James Scott, of Providence, R. I.; Rev. E. M. P. Wells, of Boston; Milton M. Fisher, Franklin A. S. Society, Mass.; Eph. Lyman and Robert B. Hall, of New Haven, Conn.; Edwin P. Atlee, Thomas Shipley, Isaac Parish, Isaac Barton, Arnold Buffum, Joshua Coffin, James S. Gibbons, and Richard P. G. Wright, of Philadelphia; Daniel S. Southmayd, of New-York; Wm. Lloyd Garrison, of Boston.

The Rev. GEORGE BOURNE presented the following resolution, which was adopted:—

Resolved, That the Committee appointed to ascertain how many Preachers in the United States are Slave-holders be continued, and that Messrs. Phelps and Hall be added to the Committee.

The Committee consists of George Bourne, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles W. Denison, Amos W. Phelps and Richard B. Hall.

Rev. GEORGE BOURNE reported from the Committee on Wesley's Writings, which was accepted, and it was resolved that the essay prepared by this Committee be printed under direction of the Executive Committee in the same form as the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Mr. DENISON, from the Committee of the A. S. convention to prepare facts, relative to Liberia from the testimony of Rev. Mr. Given, reported; the Committee is continued and directed to report to the Executive Committee, who may use their discretion in respect to its publication.

Rev. T. WILLIAMS offered the following Resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the publication of an Anti-Slavery Almanack be recommended to the Executive Committee.

Resolved, (on motion of Mr. SHIPLEY,) That this Society have learned with deep regret the decease of EVAN LEWIS, of Philadelphia, one of its Vice Presidents; and that it laments in his death the loss of a most efficient coadjutor in the cause of human freedom, an amiable citizen and a worthy man; and that we sincerely sympathise with his family and friends in their privation.

Adjourned to 9, A. M. to-morrow.

(Signed,)

W. GOODELL, *Sec'y pro tem.*

At a meeting of the Managers of the A. A. S. Society, held pursuant to adjournment at the Chatham-st. Chapel, New York, May 7, 1834, Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Brooklyn, Conn., was appointed Chairman, and CHARLES W. DENISON, of New-York, Secretary pro tem. Prayer by Rev. S. L. POMEROY, of Maine.

The roll of members was then called, and additional delegates reported, viz. Robert Purvis, of Philadelphia; S. S. Jocelyn, of N. England A. S. Society; James Barnaby, of Lowell, Mass.; John Blain, Ray Potter, Johnson Gardiner, Edward Mason, W. P. Henry, and Wm. Adams, of Pawtucket (R. I.) A. S. Society; Robert Davis Sharp, of Plainfield (Conn.) and Vicinity A. S. Society; Sam'l J. May, of Windham Co. A. S. Society; Alpheus Kingsley, Norwich City, Conn.

Resolved, That the Recording Secretary procure a book on which shall be recorded the Declaration of sentiments adopted by the National Anti-Slavery Convention, and the Constitution of this Society, for the signatures of its members.

[CHARLES STUART, of England, being present when this resolution passed, politely offered an Anti-Slavery Album, which was accepted gratefully.]

Resolved, That John Rankin, John Frost, and Edwin P. Atlee, be a Committee to prepare and present a resolution with reference to meetings and collections on the 4th of July, of every year, among the friends of the cause throughout the country.

Resolved, That C. P. Grosvenor, Arnold Buffum, Lewis Tappan, Theodore S. Wright, Simeon S. Jocelyn, Samuel J. May, E. M. P. Wells, and Beriah Green, be a Committee to consider the propriety of proposing to the American Bible Society, to raise the sum of \$20,000, for the purpose of supplying every colored family in the United States with a bible, on condition that this Society will pledge the sum of \$5000 towards that object, provided the American Bible Society will undertake to carry the measure into effect in *two years*.

On motion of JOHN BLAIN, of Rhode Island, it was

Resolved, That we recommend to all the friends of our country, male and female, to take early measures to petition Congress, at its next Session, to abolish slavery immediately in the District of Columbia and the slave-holding territories.

The Committee on Meetings and Collections for the 4th of July reported the two resolutions following, which were adopted, viz.

Resolved, That this Society recommend that all its auxiliaries, as far as convenient, hold public meetings on each 4th of July; that meetings of the friends of the cause be held throughout our country on that day, and that we earnestly request that collections be taken up in aid of the funds of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Resolved, That the Secretary for Domestic Correspondence be directed to prepare a circular and forward the same, with a copy of the above resolution, to all the auxiliary societies and such friends of the cause as may be deemed expedient.

The Committee on Application to the Bible Society, reported in favor of that measure, and were instructed to make the application to the managers of the American Bible Society, according to the terms of the resolution by which they were appointed.

Resolved, That this Society recognizes the Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention of December the 4th, 1833, as containing the principles upon which its constitution is based; and cannot, therefore, acknowledge as auxiliary any society which does not in its constitution explicitly recognize the duty of *immediate emancipation*.

Resolved, That this Society hails with fervent satisfaction the formation of Young Men's Anti-Slavery Societies in various parts of our country, and that we recommend to the young men of all denominations and classes, to rally speedily and universally in the promotion of this most righteous and momentous cause.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to issue circulars, calling on the friends of abolition to petition the State Legislatures to pass resolutions instructing their representatives and senators in Congress to use their influence in favor of the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories of the United States, and the entire suppression of the Domestic Slave Trade.

Resolved, That the American Anti-Slavery Society most cordially and affectionately welcome their friend and coadjutor CHARLES STUART, who, after having devoted so long a term of faithful, untiring, and successful service for the overthrow of slavery in the British Colonies, has now arrived to aid our exertions to abolish slavery in the United States.

On motion of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, of Massachusetts, it was

Resolved, That we tender to our abolition brethren in Great Britain, the strongest expressions of our gratitude, for the lively sympathy they evince in the efforts now making to abolish slavery in the United States and the world, and for their benevolent and efficient co-operation with us to accomplish this gracious work.

A circular from the "Agency Society for the Universal Abolition of Negro Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World," an institution of British philanthropy, having been presented to the Society for its consideration, it was

Resolved, That we gratefully and joyfully recognize the existence of the British "Agency Society for the Universal Abolition of Negro Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World," and that this Society appoint a Committee to co-operate with the Committee of said Agency Society, in carrying into effect this great and noble design, to be nominated by the following Committee.

The following gentlemen were appointed to name proper individuals for officers of this Society the ensuing year and report : William Lloyd Garrison, Robert Purvis, Cyrus P. Grosvenor, Arnold Buffum, John Frost, H. B. Stanton, and E. P. Atlee.

On motion of E. WRIGHT, Jun.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to our friend CHARLES STUART, for his interesting and valuable donation of an Anti-Slavery Album.

Mr. L. Tappan, Mr. Phelps, of Massachusetts, Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, and Mr. Coffin, of Pennsylvania, were appointed a Committee to prepare certain interrogatories to be presented in public to Thomas C. Brown, an emigrant to Liberia, recently returned to this country.

Adjourned to half past eight o'clock to-morrow morning.

The Society met, pursuant to adjournment, Thursday morning, 8th May, 1834, Rev. S. J. MAY in the Chair. The additional members present were Rev. Dr. Weeks, of Newark, New Jersey ; J. B. Crowell, of Camptown, New Jersey ; Rev. Theodore S. Wright, N. Blount, A. Freeman, M. Cross, R. Jackson, Rev. S. H. Cox, J. Kennedy, P. A. Bell, J. F. Robinson, Rev. H. G. Ludlow, Moses Ingall, R. G. P. Wright, and Baron Stow.

The meeting was opened by an address to the Throne of Grace.

The minutes of the previous meetings were read and approved.

A Committee of three, consisting of Messrs. Cox, Wright, and Phelps, were appointed to nominate an Executive Committee for next year, who reported the same members, except Isaac M. Dimond, in whose place the Rev. Theodore S. Wright was substituted. Report accepted, and nomination adopted.

The Committee on application to the American Bible Society reported verbally that they had performed the service allotted to them, and met with an apparently favorable reception, the resolution they presented having been consigned to the Committee on Distribution.

This Committee were continued, and instructed to report to the Executive Committee in case the meetings of the Society should have previously been concluded.

The Committee appointed to nominate officers reported the following, who were chosen for the ensuing year.

President.—ARTHUR TAPPAN, of New York.

Vice-Presidents.—John Blain, John Dowling, Anson Potter, of Rhode Island ; Samuel Fessenden, Samuel F. Hussey, Ebenezer Dole, Joseph Southwick, Swan L. Pomeroy, Maine ; Calvin Cutler, Nathaniel P. Russell, New Hampshire ; Matthew W. Birchard, James Ballard, Vermont ; Asa Rand, E. M. P. Wells, Effingham L. Capron, James Barnaby, Amos A. Phelps, Gardiner B. Perry, Cyrus P. Grosvenor, Baron Stow, Henry Greene, Charles Follen, Massachusetts ; Gustavus F. Davis, Samuel J. May, Simeon S. Jocelyn, George Benson, Eleazer T. Fitch, Eli Ives, Connecticut ; Beriah Green, D. C. Lansing, John Rankin, Alvan C. Stewart, J. R. Wilson, Spencer Kellogg, James W. Smith, Leonard Bleecker, John Frost, Samuel Stocking, New York ; William R. Weeks, New Jersey ; James Forten, Robert Bruce, William Jackson, Edwin A. Atlee, Arnold Buffum, George Duffield, James Mott, David Paul Brown, Pennsylvania ; William Gibbons, Delaware ; Asa Mahan, Elizur Wright, John Morgan, Samuel Crothers, Ohio ; William R. Jones, William Watkins, John Needles, Maryland ; ——— Janney, Benjamin Lundy, District of Columbia ; Erotas P. Hastings, Michigan Territory.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence.—Elizur Wright, Jun.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence.—Samuel Hanson Cox.

Recording Secretary.—Abraham L. Cox,

Treasurer.—William Green, Jun.

Managers.

STATE OF MAINE.—David Thurston, Winthrop ; Calvin Newton, Waterville ; George Shepherd, Hallowell ; Richard H. Vose, Augusta ; Patrick Henry Greenleaf, and Nathan Winslow, Portland.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—George W. Ward, Plymouth ; James Wilson, Keene ; and Amos Cambell, Acworth.

VERMONT.—Augustine Clarke, Danville ; Elisha Bascom, Shoreham ; William Arthur, Hinesburg ; Orson S. Murray, Orwell.

MASSACHUSETTS.—William Lloyd Garrison, Ellis Gray Loring, David Lee Child, Samuel E. Sewall, James G. Barbadoes, and Isaac Knapp, Boston ; Moses Thacher, North Wrentham ; John G. Whittier, Haverhill ; Jacob Ide, Medway ; John M. S. Perry, Mendon ; Philemon R. Russell, West Boylston ; Le Roy Sunderland, Andover ; David T. Kimball, Ipswich ; Charles Sewall, Danvers ; Thomas Spencer and William B. Dodge, Salem ; Wm. Oakes, Ipswich ; Benjamin Porter, Marblehead ; Ingalls Kittredge, Beverly ; Moses Pettengill, Newburyport.

RHODE ISLAND.—Josiah Cady, Henry Cushing, John Prentice, George W. Benson and James Scott, Providence ; Ray Potter, Pawtucket.

CONNECTICUT.—Alpheus Kingsley, Norwich ; S. P. Dole, Middletown.

NEW-YORK.—H. G. Ludlow, Joshua Leavitt, Wm. Goodell, Lewis Tappan, Geo. Bourne, Charles W. Denison, Samuel E. Cornish, Jonathan Middleton, Theodore S. Wright, Christopher Rush and Peter Williams, New-York City ; — Samuel N. Sweet, Adams ; Stephen P. Hines, Sandy Hill ; William Allen, Buffalo ; W. W. Reid, Rochester ; Richard P. G. Wright, Schenectady ; Phineas Crandall, Peckskill ; Thomas Dowling, Catskill ; Charles Marriott, Athens.

NEW-JERSEY.—James White and James Parkhurst, Essex County.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Edwin P. Atlee, Thomas Shipley, Robert Purvis, Joseph Casey, Isaac Parrish, James S. Gibbons, Joshua Coffin and James McCrummill, Philadelphia; Samuel Williams, John B. Vashon, Pittsburgh; Bartholomew Fussell, Rennet, Enoch Mack, Wilkesbarre; Thomas Whitson, and Abraham D. Shad, Chester County; Lindley Coates, Lancaster County; Job F. Halsey, Allegany Town.

OHIO.—O. K. Hawley, and Henry Cowles, Austinburgh; Theodore D. Weld, and H. B. Stanton, Lane Seminary, Cincinnati; John M. Sterling, Cleveland; Woolsey Wells, Akron; H. C. Howells, Zanesville; John M. Monteith, Elyria.

KENTUCKY.—James A. Thome, Augusta.

ALABAMA.—William T. Allan, Huntsville.

MISSOURI.—Andrew Benton, St. Louis.

LOUISIANA.—Huntington Lyman, New Orleans.

On motion of ROBERT B. HALL, of Connecticut, it was

Resolved, That as the act of holding human beings as property is manifestly a violation of the Divine Law, and consequently is totally inconsistent with a credible profession of Christianity, and as this Society conscientiously believe that those churches which receive slave-holders into their fellowship, do thereby support and justify the system of slavery, therefore the principles and practices of those churches which do not admit any slave-holders into their communion, and which exclude all slave-holding preachers from their pulpits, are cordially approved by the American Anti-Slavery Society.

On motion of E. WRIGHT, Jun. it was

Resolved, That the great objects of this Society require funds during the current year, to the amount of at least \$20,000.

On motion of THOMAS SHIPLEY, of Pennsylvania,—

Whereas the improvement of the people of color is an object of the highest importance, and will be a most effectual means of promoting the abolition of slavery.

Resolved, That it be recommended to each Auxiliary Society to investigate the state of education of the colored population, and to forward to the next meeting of the Society the whole number of colored children within their precincts, stating explicitly what number are receiving education.

Resolved, That it is recommended to the Auxiliary Societies to keep accurate records of the arrest of all persons within their several districts, as slaves, and a statement of the manner of their trial, and the names of all parties concerned, and that they transmit an account thereof to the next meeting of this Society.

Resolved, That the cause of abolition eminently deserves the countenance and support of American women, inasmuch as one million of colored females are pining in abject servitude, as their example and influence operate measurably as laws to society, and as the exertions of the females of England have been instrumental in liberating 800,000 slaves in the colonies.

Resolved, That we hail the establishment of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies as the harbinger of a brighter day, and that we feel great confidence in the efficacy of their exertions, and that those ladies who have promptly come forth in this great work are deserving the thanks of those who are ready to perish.

Resolved, That all ladies of the land are respectfully and earnestly invited by this Society to form Anti-Slavery Societies in every State, County, and Town in the Union; and that it be recommended to them to publish tracts and addresses calculated to waken a slumbering nation.

On motion of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,

Resolved, That this Society deeply laments the demise of WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, of England, and that we acknowledge the deep and lasting indebtedness of our cause to his faithful, persevering, and distinguished labours.

On motion of WILLIAM ADAMS, of Rhode Island,—

Resolved, That we recommend to the friends of abolition to meet with patience and firmness the opposition and slanders of their opponents, and to rely solely on those means of advancing our great cause which harmonize with the Gospel of Peace.

Adjourned until to-morrow morning half past 8.

CHARLES W. DENISON, *Sec'y. pro tem.*

Friday morning, May 9th, 1834. The society assembled at the hour adjourned to. The Rev. John Blain, of R. I., in the Chair. Present R. B. Hall, J. Coffin, L. Tappan, J. Scott, J. Prentice, George Bourne, H. Kingsbury, I. Parrish, W. Chase, Ray Potter, W. Goodell, Theodore S. Wright, J. Leavitt, E. Wright, Jr., W. Adams, E. A. Stillman, W. L. Garrison, John Frost, Robert Jackson, Charles W. Denison and A. L. Cox. The meeting was opened with prayer by Ray Potter.

On motion of LEWIS TAPPAN, from the Executive Committee, it was

Resolved, That the 6th Article of the Constitution be so amended as to permit the Executive Committee to enlarge their number to 12.

The Committee on Nomination of Officers made a further report of names for the Committee of Correspondence with the British Agency Committee, which was accepted, and is as follows:—

Agency Committee.

MASSACHUSETTS.—Charles Follen, and William Lloyd Garrison.

CONNECTICUT.—Samuel J. May.

NEW-YORK.—Professor Bush, N. Y. City University, Lewis Tappan, Joshua Leavitt, Charles Stuart, Henry Ibbertson, Samuel H. Cox, William Goodell, John Rankin.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Arnold Buffum, and John Sharpe.

On motion of E. WRIGHT, Jun. it was

Resolved, That the Society recommend to the Committee on Agencies of the Executive Committee, to appoint Charles Stuart an Agent of this Society.

Resolved, That the Committee of Correspondence with the British Agency Committee have power to fill all vacancies in their own body, and that a vacancy shall be created by the neglect of any of its members to become a member of the Society, after being duly notified of his appointment for a reasonable time.

Adjourned to the next Anniversary Meeting.

ABRAHAM L. COX, *Secretary.*

TREASURER'S REPORT.

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH WM.

GREEN, Jr., TREASURER.

Dr.	
To Cash paid for Printing - - - - -	\$559 51
“ Salary of Editor - - - - -	228 99
“ Agents and Travelling Expenses - - -	144 28
“ African Repository, 1 set - - - - -	13 00
“ Stroud's Sketch of Slave Laws - - -	20 00
“ Office Expenses - - - - -	79 99
“ Postage - - - - -	1 85
Balance - - - - -	43
	\$1048 05

Cr.

By Cash of individuals as follows :—

“ B. C. Bacon \$5, W. L. Garrison 2, J. Knapp 2, David	
“ Thurston 1, Jas. Loughhead 1, E. Mack 1, E. L. Capron	
“ 5, J. M. McKine 1, C. Gillingham 1, Amos A. Phelps 1,	
“ D. E. Jewett 50, Jas. F. Otis 1, S. J. May 3, Chs. W.	
“ Denison 2, A. L. Cox 1, Nathan Winslow 5, Thos. Ship-	
“ ley 3, Isaac Winslow 5, R. Purvis 10, Jas. McCrummell 1,	
“ H. P. Wakefield 1, J. C. Barbadoes 1, Joseph Cassey	
“ 10, Jas. Southwick 3, E. Lewis 50, Jno. Parkhurst 1, Jas.	
“ White 1, J. R. Cambell 2, D. T. Kimball, Jun. 5, John	
“ Sharp, Jun. 5, A. Kingsley 10, J. G. Whittier 3, John	
“ Prentiss 1, Levi Sutliff 1, B. Fussil 1, S. S. Jocelyn 1,	
“ Dr. E. P. Atlee 5, Jas. Mott 5, D. L. Child 2, David	
“ Cambell 1, Joshua Coffin 1, B. Green 1, E. Drury 1, W.	
“ Goodell 2, Milton Sutliff 1, E. Wright, Jun. 1.	\$118 00
“ Excess of Subscription at the Convention, over defraying	
“ Expenses - - - - -	2 25
“ John Rankin - - - - -	100 00
“ J. Winslow, Phil. - - - - -	500 00
“ W. R. College Anti-Slavery Society - - - - -	28 00
“ Wm. Jay - - - - -	50 00
“ Anti-Slavery Society of Oneida Institute - - - - -	34 40
“ Sales of Anti-Slavery Reporter, &c. - - - - -	55 40
“ Wm. Green, Jun. - - - - -	100 00
“ Lewis Tappan - - - - -	50 00
“ John Hutchinson - - - - -	10 00

\$1048 05

WM. GREEN, Jr., *Treasurer.*

NEW-YORK, May 2, 1834.

Audited,

JOHN RANKIN }
ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jr., } *Committee.*

REPORT.

The American Anti-Slavery Society was organized on the fourth of December, 1833. Its principles and plans were set forth in a solemn Declaration by the Convention which formed it. In presenting their first Annual Report, the executive committee would therefore merely glance at the origin of the society, the most interesting facts which have occurred during the first five months of its existence, and take a view of the field before it.

Already we are admonished that we have no time to lose in carrying into effect the measures pledged in the Anti-Slavery Declaration. One of the signers of that instrument has been called away from these earthly scenes. We doubt not he looks back upon that act as one of the happiest of his life. While the name of the oppressor shall rot, millions shall rise up and bless the memory of EVAN LEWIS.

In tracing the history of the present Anti-Slavery movements, we have not far to go in the records of the past. For though there have not been wanting since the days of Benezett, individuals who have occasionally borne a noble testimony against slavery ; yet their voices have been overborne and drowned ; there has been no devotion of life to the cause of reform, no concentration of effort, no kindling up of general sympathy, no mustering of hosts against the monster. Till the organization of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society

in 1832, there was scarcely a rill of pity for the slave which was not diverted to the EXPATRIATION OF THE FREE. The formation of that Society, so much despised and derided, was the era of a mighty reformation. It led on to the Convention of the 4th of December, in Philadelphia. Then the standard was raised distinctly before the whole American people. The effect is as if an oppressive spell had been removed from the humanity of the nation. Men are every where awaking to the claim of *two millions* of their brethren in *bondage*,—they are astonished at their former prejudice, and blindness, and folly; they are girding on the armor of our victorious principles.

Though the committee have not yet been able to put in operation an extended system of agencies, Anti-Slavery associations have rapidly multiplied. More than sixty have already been reported. Several gentlemen have received commissions to act as agents in their own vicinity, who have been quite successful. We would especially notice Messrs. Samuel J. May, Ray Potter, Thomas Williams, and J. G. Whittier. Mr. Charles W. Denison, the former editor of the *Emancipator*, has been commissioned as a travelling agent. He commenced his labors in Connecticut, where he succeeded in forming an efficient auxiliary in Middletown. He has since labored with success on the banks of the Hudson. The committee state with great pleasure that they have secured the services of Mr. Phelps, the former pastor of Pine-street church, in Boston, as a permanent agent. He has just entered upon his labors. From the able lectures which he has presented to the public, the committee recommend him with great confidence to the community, as a masterly expounder and advocate of the doctrines of abolition. The committee have also commissioned Calvin Pep-

per, jr. Esq., as an agent in the western part of the state of New-York, where he is favorably known as an efficient advocate of Temperance. It deserves to be mentioned, as an earnest of his success, that by a protracted discussion in which he bore a part, in Perry, Genesee county, a large audience were brought almost unanimously to adopt the principles of immediate emancipation. He will enter upon his agency without delay. The committee also have it in contemplation to appoint other gentlemen as agents, who are ready to devote themselves without reserve to this cause. Very important services have been rendered to the cause by Mr. J. Leavitt, editor of the New-York Evangelist. He attended the anniversary of the Colonization Society at Washington, and by his spirited and accurate report of all the proceedings, did much to draw that arch deceiver forth from its hiding place. He also visited the establishments of the domestic slave-merchants, and spread out a mass of novel and instructive facts in regard to the traffic. Many other individuals might be mentioned, who have been actively and gratuitously engaged in this holy cause.

The committee, regarding the press as one of the most powerful engines of reform, have devoted to it as much effort as the state of the treasury would allow. They have issued five numbers of the American Anti-Slavery Reporter as a monthly sheet. Five thousand copies of each number have been printed, of which from two to three thousand copies have been gratuitously distributed. The remainder are still on hand. As they are designed to answer the purpose of tracts, and are sold nearly at cost, the committee would recommend them to the various auxiliaries that wish to engage in the dissemination of *facts* and *arguments*.

The society's depository has also been copiously supplied with all the standard works in favor of Immediate Emancipation.

The committee have also secured the services of Mr. William Goodell, as editor of the *Emancipator*. Of their value we need not speak. We know of no man to whom the cause of Temperance is more indebted, for soundness and consistency of principles, and for efficiency of operation.

Protracted discussions have been held in a great number of places. Though the victory has often been vociferously claimed by the enemies of Immediate Emancipation, yet the uniform result has been a large gain to the Anti-Slavery cause. The effect of the discussion in Utica between President Green and Rev. J. N. Danforth, is especially gratifying. It commenced before an audience fully committed against our cause. It closed with a vote in which, while the Colonization side saved a doubtful majority in numbers, they lost a decided one, of moral character and influence.

But we have still more occasion for gratitude to the God of the oppressed, for the hold which our principles have taken in a number of colleges. It is an omen of immense good. It opens a sure path to the overthrow of slavery, not in name merely, but in all its fearful and varied realities. Let some of our higher institutions trample on the cord of caste, open their doors to all, without distinction of complexion, educate a number of talented men of color, and show the world what sort of minds slavery crushes in the dust; and the spell is broken, prejudice gives way, and *two millions* of chains fall asunder.

The first Anti-Slavery revolution in a college took place under the lamented President Storrs at Hudson, Ohio. It was his doctrine, in regard to the training of

the mind, that *men* are to be made only by putting youth under the responsibilities of *men*. He therefore encouraged the free discussion of every important subject. This noble policy on his part may fairly be presumed to have given birth to that spirit of inquiry which is now leading many of our literary institutions to the most glorious results. In regard to the W. R. College, its effect was a change of opinion radical and complete. After a long struggle, the mind of the college was carried, not by authority, but by the force of irresistible arguments. The young men of that institution still, not only maintain their ground triumphantly, but are exerting a powerful influence on public opinion around them. Two of their number are colored.

A similar change followed a thorough discussion in the Oneida Institute. We trust the friends of the oppressed will not be slow to support an institution which promises so much to the cause of humanity in its struggle with prejudice and the foul spirit of caste.

But the most remarkable victory of truth remains yet to be told. The seminaries referred to contained few, if any, students from the slave-holding states. Their interests did not stand in the way of a judgment in favor of the slave; neither were the interests of the respective institutions at all identified with their popularity at the south: consequently, their influence upon the public opinion of the south, though efficient, must be indirect. On the other hand, had these changes taken place in colleges deriving their patronage from the south, and located on the borders of the land of slaves, had the converts to abolition been many of them the sons of slave-holders, and the heirs to slave estates, we should have regarded it as a most glorious earnest of the success of our cause at the south. But

just such a triumph we have the privilege to claim in Lane Seminary, near Cincinnati. That institution was originated by a merchant of New-Orleans, and has been built up in a great degree with a view to its moral bearing upon the south. It is located about one mile from the boundary of a slave state. Many of its students are the sons of slave-holders, and one of them was till recently a slave-holder himself. But truth has triumphed. The principles of the Anti-Slavery declaration have been adopted, in their full force, unabated and uncompromised. The names of all but five or six (and those are northern men,) out of about one hundred students, have been enrolled beneath the constitution of our Anti-slavery society. Nor has this been a mere "abstract" triumph. The slave-holding student has emancipated his two slaves. Instead of depending upon their labor for his own education, he is now laboring to educate them. Two have left their studies for a year, and devote their whole time to the instruction of schools for colored youths in Cincinnati. The whole seminary seems to have resolved itself into a society for elevating the people of color in that neighborhood. By rotation of effort, Sabbath Schools, Bible Classes, and Scientific Lectures are afforded to the colored population, who are not slow to avail themselves of such privileges. Measures have been taken to establish a first rate seminary for colored females, and a lady has been enlisted for an instructress, who lacks not talents to place the school among the first in the country, nor zeal enough to meet persecution, even if it should come in a shape as terrific as that which has fallen upon the noble pioneer in this cause in Connecticut.

During the discussion, which lasted *eighteen evenings*.

many facts* were brought out by the students from the south, which, coming from eye-witnesses, and men who have been reared with all the prejudices of masters, must carry with them irresistible force, and prove to all whose hearts are not made of the nether millstone, and whose eyes are not blinder than a statue's, that slavery, *as it exists* in our country, is a system of wickedness under which virtue can hardly live but by miracle. Much do we misinterpret the language of Providence, if there do not go forth from this seminary, before many years have rolled away, apostles of human rights, before whom the knees of oppressors shall smite together, as they reason of "righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come," and at whose eloquence chains shall melt, and the mightier and more cruel "cord of caste" shall fall asunder like "tow at the touch of fire." On this most cheering event we will offer two remarks.

1. We ask the man to step forth who dares to say that the result is not *good*.

2. No part of this good effect was produced by that species of *prudence* which is wont to be exercised on such occasions. That kind of prudence strove to discourage the discussion. God be praised that it did not succeed.

In recounting the victories of truth and humanity, we would not forget the efforts of our colored brethren to elevate themselves. If the honor of originating American Anti-Slavery, as a plan of operations opposed to expatriation, were now the matter in question, a strong claim might be urged in favor of some of our colored friends. Long they watched in vain for a sympathy among the whites which could rise above the

* See Appendix.

barriers of prejudice. The first announcement of Anti-Slavery sentiment, on the part of a few white friends, was felt by them like an electric shock. It was the dawn of day to those whose efforts to grope their way had well nigh ended in discouragement. They have organized an annual convention for the promotion of education, temperance, industry, and good order. This convention has met thrice in Philadelphia, with increasing interest. Its published minutes furnish the best possible refutation of the stereotyped calumnies against the colored race.

In this city an institution has been founded by the enterprise of colored men, denominated the Phœnix Society. It numbers white friends among its officers, but the practical administration of its affairs falls chiefly upon the colored. Its object is to carry out the design of the Convention, specified above, in regard to this city. Its report will show the most encouraging success. The anniversary, which was recently held in this place, yielded, in interest, to none ever held here. We appeal to those who were present for the truth of this statement. The audience was composed of the most opposite complexions. The speakers were about equally divided. We appeal to the whites present, whether they left that assembly with any consciousness of superiority on the ground of color, or any lingering doubt as to the native ability of the colored race to furnish their proportion of representatives every way qualified to fill the highest stations in society. We believe this anniversary operated on many minds like an admission to the general assembly of the universe,—it expanded their souls to a magnitude for ever incompressible by the trammels of despicable prejudice. If any felt themselves degraded by the circumstances in which they were placed that evening, they would, for

aught we can see, have felt themselves no less so, had they been admitted to the company of the redeemed, from every kindred, and tongue, and people.

These interesting facts lead us to some important conclusions, which, in passing, we cannot forbear to remark. There is no way to destroy the prejudice which lies at the foundation of slavery, but to invite our colored brethren to a participation with us in all those happy and elevating institutions which are open to others. No efforts, however powerful or well-intended, which aim only to build up separate institutions for their special benefit, under the denomination, so odious to them, of "colored" or "African," can heal the wound. They will end only in conferring upon their objects a keener sensibility to insult, and in establishing between the races an animosity, settled and remediless. Providence seems most kindly to have opened before us the path of safety and success, in creating so strong an Anti-Slavery sentiment in many of our most hopeful seminaries. Let those vigorous institutions be opened, as we doubt not they will be, to youth, irrespective of complexion, and in ten years our country will number among its most talented sons, men of the sable hue—giants in intellect, who will smile as they shake off the green withes in which an absurd prejudice would confine them—who will not be overborne by insult, any more than the lion by the dew of the morning, which he shakes from his mane. It will be impossible to make *machines* of such men, or any longer to treat as such the race ennobled by their elevation.

Every measure for the thorough and proper education of colored females is a blow aimed directly at slavery. As such it is felt both by slave-holders at the south, and their friends and abettors at the north. This

subject has been placed in the strongest light by the experiment of Miss Prudence Crandall. It was not because she had dared to teach colored females grammar and geography, nor indeed because she had taught them music and drawing, that the majesty of the State interfered with her humble and self-denying labors ; but it was because she dared to teach them, *as if they were white*—to treat them with the same delicacy and respect which an instructress is expected to extend to young ladies in good society. And many whose regard for moral principle would by no means allow them to sanction the outrageous proceedings of her persecutors, have nevertheless thought Miss Crandall's effort to be prodigiously *out of place*, and sadly adapted to *spoil* the objects of her mistaken benevolence.

We rejoice to see that public favor is beginning to smile upon that amiable philanthropist. Her persecutors have had their day. There is now every reason to expect that they will live fully to reap the infamy which they so richly deserve, while the lady who has so nobly met their rude assaults, will experience the approbation which the popular voice never fails to bestow on the *memories* of the good.

The present year will long be remembered, from another occurrence ; we mean the full and final exposure of the colonization delusion. That scheme may, on various pretences, be advocated a little longer, but as a practical matter it is at an end. The life and soul of the system departed, as the light broke in upon it at the last annual meeting of the Colonization Society. The following propositions are now proven in the light of facts, and unalterably and unquestionably established :—

1. The colonization of the free has no tendency to diminish the number of the slaves.

2. The free colored population are spontaneously and unanimously opposed to the scheme.

3. Colonies are not adapted to Christianize Africa.

4. Nothing but the prejudice of the *whites* renders the removal of the *blacks* at all desirable.

5. This prejudice is conquerable by the moral power of the gospel.

Just so fast as the full and overwhelming evidence of these propositions is brought fairly before the candid and virtuous, they forsake the colonization cause, and enter the ranks of the abolitionists.

It is a point worthy of remark, that most men have become colonizationists, they know not why,—surely not from any increase of sympathy for the victims of slavery or prejudice, whereas none become abolitionists but by a searching investigation of facts, nor without an entire change of thought and feeling—a revolution of the soul, involving a mighty increase of sympathy for the oppressed. This gives a zeal and energy to the collected band, which, when kindled up through our country, will sweep away the bulwarks of slavery.

The Committee rejoice in the assurance, that the labors of the Society are already producing a beneficial effect at the south. While public sentiment at the north is so decidedly hostile to immediate emancipation, as to subject the advocates of the doctrine to obloquy and abuse, it is scarcely to be expected that southern men should publicly advocate it at the risk of their lives. But the facts in regard to Lane Seminary show the power of truth over southern minds. The Committee have also received assurances from various parts of the south, that their publications are not without effect, and that many are secretly embracing their doctrines. The efforts recently made in Kentucky and Tennessee to secure a gradual abolition

of slavery, also demonstrate the same truth. For although an act which gives their liberty to all that shall be born hereafter, at twenty-five years of age, is a wretched mockery of justice, yet we are assured that the prime movers of the scheme advocate it, not because they consider it satisfactory, but because they think it will become speedily popular. They admit the truth of our principles, but they distrust their success, as applied to hearts grown callous by the continued practice of oppression. Here we think they mistake the philosophy of human nature. We think that they are themselves a practical illustration of the power of abstract truths, when urged upon the conscience, to influence the conduct. We have no doubt that they themselves are impelled to effort by the powerful array of true principles which has already been made before the whole American people. Let them, therefore, if they would be successful, urge the naked truth. Let them insist upon reformation *now*. After the sternest immediatism of doctrine, the practical reformation will be sufficiently *gradual*.

We are still further assured of success by the results of the struggle in Britain. It would have been difficult ten years ago to assign any reason for the expectation that slavery would be abolished in the British possessions sooner than in the United States. If it had been said that the full control of Parliament, the freedom from slavery in the mother country, and the philanthropy which first abolished the slave-trade, were in favor of British emancipation, it might have been replied, that the West India interest had pervaded the nation, the slaves were more remote, and thus farther removed from public sympathy, and the evil did not prey so immediately upon the vitals of the country, threatening speedy death. And might not the

genius of our republican institutions have much weight in favor of our precedence in giving liberty to the captive ? In both cases, before any political action could consummate the release of the enslaved, there must be an entire revolution of public opinion. Would any patriotic American have preferred Britain to his own beloved and boasted land, as the theatre of an experiment to effect such a change ? We think not. But in Britain the victory has been achieved. As soon as a handful of her philanthropists adopted the principle of *immediate emancipation*, they gathered strength.— They were derided and reviled, but they went forward. The rage with which the planters met every movement which could be suspected to have the liberation of the slaves for its object, only accelerated the downfall of their despotic power. They persecuted the missionaries on groundless suspicions, tore down their chapels, and drove them from the islands. The consequence was, that the mother country was roused from her slumbers by these very missionaries. The West India interest, while their hold on the popular sentiment was strong, frowned upon every movement of reform with a proud contempt. As truth prevailed, oppressors and their interested allies and abettors began to tremble. They endeavored to frighten the public with the imaginary horrors of “turning loose.” They depicted in bold relief the misery of the slaves, at once deprived of the fatherly care and protection of the masters ; and, above all, the certain loss of the products of the colonies for the want of labor. At last, when they saw that the nation had arisen in its strength, and that abolition was inevitable, they showed the hollowness of all their former pleas, by contenting themselves with a *compensation* for their act of justice. Though this compensating the masters, instead of the

slaves, is out of all keeping with justice, and was felt to be so by the British people, yet it may serve to show how ardent was the desire for the release of the slaves, when the people submitted to an increase of their enormous burdens to secure this object. The plunderers of 800,000 slaves may well boast of their generalship in the matter; had they put off the decision till the rising tide of popular feeling had reached its height, they would have fared differently.

But when the act of emancipation was passed, what became of the dangers, the rebellions, the cutting of throats, the idleness, the vagrancy, and the necessity of a *gradual* preparation for freedom?—They vanished. We find that already two of the colonial legislatures have spontaneously and unanimously substituted immediate emancipation for the gradual apprenticeship system, which, in her tenderness to their former fears, the mother country had offered them. On the 1st of August next, the slaves in Bermuda, Antigua, Montserrat, Barbuda, St. Christopher, Nevis, Anguilla, the Virgin Islands, and Dominica, will be FREE! Seven of these islands, according to the official returns of 1829, contained a slave population of 90,106. The probability is, that the other colonies will follow this example. At any rate, the freedom of 800,000 slaves in the British possessions is secured, and secured by no other means than the doctrine of immediate emancipation urged upon the conscience of the British people.

It gives us unmingled pleasure to add, that two advocates of the British slaves,* Charles Stuart and George Thompson, may be expected soon to arrive on our shores, to devote their noble energies to the same

* This beloved coadjutor arrived just in time to attend the Anniversary. Mr. Thompson is expected in the course of two months.

cause now in its infancy with us. We hail their aid with delight. The narrow prejudice of clan, dignified by the name of national pride, may take umbrage, and, bristling its barbed points, like the "fretful porcupine," may warn them off. But it is too late for such a principle to triumph. Thousands will welcome them as the champions of human rights,—as men who belong not to an island or a kingdom, but to the world.

From these encouraging facts let us take a view of the field that lies before us. One *sixth part* of the population of this republic, mingled, though not equally throughout the mass, is consigned to degradation, ignominy, and contempt; doomed by the pitiful pride of skin, to be perpetual aliens, and frowned away from the privileges of our glorious institutions. The great mass of this proscribed and out-cast race, not less than 2,200,000, are held, bought, and sold, as property—mere beasts of burden. All their social relations are at the mercy of irresponsible masters. Parents may be torn from their children, husbands from their wives, and brothers from their sisters, and for ever separated; and in the ordinary course of the domestic slave-trade this often occurs. Yes, parents may sell their own children, and they often do it. Masters may punish their slaves without mercy, and there is no redress; for a colored man cannot testify against a white one. And this is not a mere idle liability. The scourge *is* the motive to labor;—the sight of the cruel instrument and its smart are as familiar to the slave as the complexion which he wears. And what is worse than all—the key of knowledge is taken away,—the immortal mind is starved,—the soul is shrouded in an Egyptian darkness,—and thus the bulk of this mighty population is shut out from the kingdom of God.—But *there is a God*; and nothing will save us from his

wrath, but an immediate and practical submission to his law, of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us.

We are told that the masters themselves are tired of slavery, and only continue it for fear that the slaves, if liberated, by their ignorance and improvidence, will fall into a worse condition. But what language do the rewards offered for runaways speak? What do we learn from the immense and unwearied pains taken to recapture them? Facts are near at hand; and, for the sake of placing this point in a strong light, the Committee beg leave to notice some that have fallen under their own observation. Last year a number of fugitives from Virginia rowed in an open boat from the Chesapeake to one of the wharves of New-York, where they left their boat and fled. What pains to escape from kind protection! Did the kind protectors acquiesce like men relieved from a burdensome responsibility? No.—Unwearied kindness! It seemed as though they could never do enough for the poor dependents whom Providence had “entailed” upon them.—They obtained a requisition from the Governor of Virginia to the Governor of New-York, to deliver up the said fugitives on the charge of *stealing the boat!!* Four of them were, in consequence, taken *in irons* to Northampton County, Virginia, where one was sentenced to be HANGED on the 10th of January last, and the other three, so far as can be learned, were sold to the “speculators!!!”

An aged man, by the name of Damon Jones, was arrested as a fugitive in New-Haven last fall. It appeared that he had been reared by the Hon. William Gaston, Chief Justice, of North Carolina, by whom he was sold about twelve years ago; that he passed through the hands of a great number of masters, like

an ill-fated horse; that he was at length repurchased by Judge Gaston, with the promise of his liberty if he would refund the price; that he did refund, if not the whole, a considerable part of it; that, in consequence, he received a passport to the free States, of which, on account of the Southampton massacre, he was not able immediately to avail himself; that while delayed for this cause, he was several times arrested on suspicion of coming from Virginia; and that he was finally sold by Judge Gaston to an Alabama speculator, by the name of Huey, for \$400! By him he was carried to Alabama, and sold like a beast. After having drunk of the bitter cup with the field gang, and having passed through many hands, he escaped. But he was promptly pursued. And at no time during the legal process for testing his right of property, would the claimant take less than \$400 for his claim. By the kindness of some friends this man was ransomed.*

About midnight, between the 11th and 12th of March, John Lockley, a resident of this city, his wife and child, were seized and thrown into prison, for no crime but because they were claimed as *property* by Dr. Rufus Haywood, of Raleigh, North Carolina. This gentleman is descended from one of the noblest families in that State. The next morning the prisoners were brought before the Recorder of the city, and, but for a mistake on the part of the claimant as to the time of their absconding, would have been delivered up. The claimant was allowed ample time to rectify his mistake. On the 31st of March he appeared with a large number of witnesses from Raleigh. They testified to the identity of the family, as the slaves of Dr.

* A narrative of his eventful life is in preparation, and will probably be published soon.

Haywood's mother, executrix of the last will of Hon. Sherwood Haywood, deceased. They stated that the man was a blacksmith in Raleigh, had conducted a large business, making the sales and purchases himself, and was frequently credited by the merchants of Raleigh to considerable amounts. It appears that he was not only able to take care of himself, but was, in fact, one of the best blacksmiths in Raleigh. It is said, moreover, (and we see no reason to doubt it,) that this alleged fugitive is a *first cousin* to Dr. Rufus Haywood, the pursuer. His real name is Branch, and his father was a brother of the Hon. Sherwood Haywood, descended from a slave mother, but was neither a slave himself, nor was his wife; of course the son was free-born. He has availed himself of the statute of this State, which allows every alleged fugitive to bring his writ, in order to have a jury trial in regard to his freedom. This family is still in prison, awaiting trial.

But a few days after the afflicting arrest just mentioned, a little boy, by the name of Henry Scott, was taken from one of the public schools of this city, where he had been placed by his father, who had brought him from Virginia. This case has already excited some sympathy. The child was thrown into prison, where, by exposure to cold and damp, he was made sick. By the contributions of his friends, principally colored, he has been released on bail, and is now restored to health. Shall we be called upon to repress our indignation against a system which can thus tear a child from a public school, and consign him to a brutalizing servitude, into whose gloom no ray of knowledge is permitted to penetrate? Shame on us if our souls are not roused. What have the oppressors to offer us which can compensate for a vile and unmanly acquiescence in their barbarous claims?

Still more recently, *sir men* have been arrested, one after another, and immured in prison,—thrust into cells three feet and a half wide, by seven feet long—for the crime of having been slaves. Some of them have been known here, for several years, as honest, industrious laborers.

A man by the name of Robinson was taken from on board a revenue cutter, and carried back to Virginia, without even the form of a trial. On his arrival in Richmond, it is reported that he was prevailed upon to inform against an aged free black, who had assisted his escape; in consequence of which, the old man was brought before the city authorities, and sentenced to receive 150, and afterwards 300 lashes. There seems to be no reason to doubt the correctness of the information.

The pursuers are making a great effort to overthrow the law of this State, which grants to every fugitive the right of a jury trial. The question has been decided in their favor by one of the courts, but yet awaits the decision of a higher tribunal.

We have cited these recent facts, merely as illustrations of the ferocious and implacable spirit of slavery. It is never satisfied. It exacts the last "*pound of flesh*." Are we to be told, nevertheless, that the slaveholders, themselves, are as much opposed to slavery as we? That they deplore the evils, and wish to rid themselves of it as soon as it can be done with benefit to the slaves and safety to the public? This is the very language we have heard from legalized kidnappers, while pouncing upon their victims; and we are not so much astonished at it, as at the superlative stupidity of those who mistake its monstrous absurdity for truth. Almost every newspaper south of the Potomac is crowded with offers of reward for the appre-

hension of runaways, and yet the amiable advertisers are opposed to slavery. Slaves are constantly escaping at the peril of their lives, and yet they say, The slaves are contented, and would not take their liberty if they could have it! The fugitives who have escaped work night and day in the free States, for the redemption of their relatives in bondage; yet they say, If the slaves were freed they would die of starvation from mere idleness!

Again, these persecuted people, when apprehended as fugitives, quietly submit to the iniquitous law, and seldom is any violent effort made by their friends for their rescue; but, say the masters, if they were emancipated, they would rise and cut the throats of their benefactors! It is time the friends of freedom had awaked from their disgraceful slumbers. The truth is, and it must be suppressed no longer, we have been *hired* to abet oppression—to be the tools of tyrants—to look on coolly while 2,000,000 of our brethren have been stripped of every right, and worse than murdered. Solemnly we say, and we stake all on the pledge, that there is not wealth enough in the universe any longer to buy our acquiescence in this base and abominable subserviency. Common sense teaches us, that it is no less a crime to oppress an already injured man, than to seize a fresh victim; that what is crime in Africa, is no less so in the United States; that if the foreign slave-trade has been justly declared piracy, it was always piracy; consequently the man who seizes another in New-York, and drags him away into bondage, whatever laws he may have in his favor, is to be regarded as a robber and pirate! We do not understand the Constitution of the United States to justify such a criminal at all. If we did, we would never cease to labor to wipe off so foul and deadly a stain from that

noble instrument ; for we remember an older and nobler Constitution, which says—"Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee : he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best ; thou shalt not oppress him."—*Deut.* xxiii. 15, 16.

Let us rebuke the cruel prejudice against color which sides with the oppressor. Let us welcome the oppressed to all the privileges of our glorious institutions. Let us open to him the paths of learning and honorable industry. Let it be the glory of our sons and daughters to have been educated in seminaries which were open to worthy applicants, without regard to complexion, that the next generation may be disenthralled from those narrow and despicable prejudices which have trammelled the present. Let us lift up the voice of warning, entreaty, and rebuke, and thunder in the ears of a guilty nation the salutary truth that every slave ought to be made free now. Let us persevere, in the face of all opposition, till the seat of our nation's power and honor is no longer a slave-mart—till the coflle of the domestic traffic no longer stains with blood its weary track from the Potomac to the Mississippi—till the whip falls from the grasp of the overseer, and the light of knowledge and religion is permitted to shine full on the shrouded intellect of these oppressed millions—till the States, one after another, pass the joyful act of abolition—till the shout of jubilee rings from the equator to the poles.

Truth is with us ; wisdom, honor, and manhood are with us ; the wise, the noble, and the good of ages past and of ages to come are with us ; and, more than all, God is with us. What, then, shall separate us from our glorious object ?

Let the friends of human rights rally around the sacred banner of *Immediate Emancipation*. Let them consecrate themselves to this mighty effort. Let them cast in their contributions to the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as God has prospered them. Let them love not in *name* only, but in *deed* and in *truth*.

If Anti-Slavery faith is to go without works, this Society might as well be disbanded. It must support living agents to proclaim truth with their whole energy. It must bring the press to bear upon the whole community. This is not to be accomplished without funds. Why should not every abolitionist, male or female, count it a sacred privilege to contribute to this glorious cause? Why should not the means be put in the Society's hands at once, to send agents to every corner of our country, and to visit every fire-side with the facts of the atrocious system, and with pleas for the slave? Fellow Christians! let it not be said of this Society that its agents have spent that breath and eloquence in soliciting funds, which they ought to have spent in pleading for the oppressed. Why should not every friend of this Society give now according to his ability? Why should not every philanthropist, the coming 4th of July, make an effort to raise funds for the Society? Let it be understood, that a single cent will put in existence a tract which may gain a powerful friend to our cause. If those ten persons who are now imprisoned in this city as slaves, were the only slaves in the land, rather than they should stay another day in bondage, your philanthropy would release them by paying the ransom; but there are millions, and we turn from the ransom of an individual in cold despair. Shall we not, then, give as much to lay the axe at the root of the accursed tree which bears this bitter fruit, as we would to release these ten individuals?

In conclusion, the Committee would congratulate the friends of humanity on the prospect before them. He who lives to see the next anniversary will see things of which the prediction would now be deemed incredible. Mightier elements are in agitation than have entered into any revolution in our country, moral or physical. Their action has been repressed by all the governing powers of society, till nature will no longer bear the restraint, and sympathy for the enslaved is gushing from a thousand rents in the opposing structure. The tricks of tyrants will be unavailing. They might as well undertake to turn backward our glorious rivers, to check the swelling of the ocean, or hush its noisy tempests, as to stop the progress of this cause. Strong in the holy principles of Him who came to preach deliverance to the captives, it will move forward to certain victory.

By order of the Committee,

E. WRIGHT, JUN., *Sec. Dom. Cor.*

New-York, May 6th, 1834.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, *Chairman,*

JOHN RANKIN,

SAMUEL H. COX,

SAMUEL E. CORNISH,

JOSHUA LEAVITT,

WILLIAM GREEN, JUN.

PETER WILLIAMS,

THEODORE S. WRIGHT,

LEWIS TAPPAN,

WILLIAM GOODELL,

ABRAHAM L. COX,

ELIZUR WRIGHT, JUN.

APPENDIX.

FACTS communicated to the editor of the "*N. Y. Evangelist*," by H. B. STANTON of Lane Seminary, on the authority of students in that seminary, who have been born and educated at the south :

The slaves which pass down to the southern market on the Mississippi river and through the interior, are mostly purchased in Kentucky and Virginia. Some are bought in Tennessee. In the emigration they suffer great hardships. Those who are driven down by land, travel from two hundred to a thousand miles on foot, through Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi. They sometimes carry heavy chains the whole distance. These chains are very massive. They extend from the hands to the feet, being fastened to the wrists and ankles by an iron ring around each. When chained, every slave carries two chains—i. e. one from each hand to each foot. A wagon, in which rides "the driver," carrying coarse provisions, and a few tent coverings, generally accompanies the drove. Men, women and children, some of the latter very young, walk near the wagon; and if, through fatigue or sickness, they falter, the application of the whip reminds them that they are slaves. Our informant, speaking of some droves which he met, says, "their weariness was extreme, and their dejected, despairing, woe-begone countenances I shall never forget." They encamp out nights. Their bed consists of a small blanket. Even this is frequently denied them. A rude tent covers them, scarcely sufficient to keep off the dew or frost, much less the rain. They frequently remain in this situation several weeks, in the neighborhood of some slave-trading village. The slaves are subject, while on their journeys, to severe sickness. On such occasions the drivers manifest much anxiety lest they should loose—THEIR PROPERTY! But even sickness does not prevent them from hurrying their victims on to market—sick, faint or weary, the slave knows no rest. In the Choctaw nation, my informant met a large company of these miserable beings, following a wagon at some distance. From their appearance, being mostly females and children, and hence not so marketable, he supposed they must belong to some planter who was emigrating southward. He inquired if this was so, and if their master was taking them home? A woman, in tones of mellowed despair, answered him: "Oh, no sir, we are not going home! We don't know where we are going. THE SPECULATORS HAVE GOT US!"

A trader was recently taking down nine slaves in a flat boat. When near Natchez, his boat sprung a leak. He was compelled to abandon her. He put his slaves into a small canoe. Being manacled and fettered, they were unable to manage the canoe. It upset—they were plunged into the river, and sunk—being carried down by the weight of their chains! The water was deep, and the current rapid. They were seen no more.

My informant conversed with a man who accompanied a cargo of slaves from some port in Virginia, round by sea to New Orleans. He said the owners and sailors treated them most unmercifully—beating them, and in some instances literally knocking them down upon the deck. They were locked up in the hold every night. Once on the passage, in consequence of alarm, they kept them in the hold the whole period of four days and nights, and none were brought on deck during that time but a few females; and they, for purposes which I will not name. Mr. Editor, Do the horrors of the middle passage belong exclusively to a by-gone age?

There is one feature in this nefarious traffic which no motives of delicacy can induce me to omit mentioning. Shall we conceal the truth, because its revelation will shock the finer sensibilities of the soul, when by such concealment we shut out all hope of remedying an evil, which dooms to a dishonored life, and to a hopeless death, thousands of the females of our country? Is this wise? Is it prudent? Is it right? I allude to the fact, that large numbers of female mulattoes are annually bought up, and carried down to our southern cities, and sold at enormous prices, for purposes of private prostitution. This is a fact of universal

notoriety in the south-western states. It is known to every soul-driver in the nation? And is it so bad that CHRISTIANS may not know it, and knowing it, apply the remedy? In the consummation of this nameless abomination, threats and the lash come in, where kind promises and money fail. And will not the mothers of America feel in view of these facts?

All the above statements, general and particular, are avouched for by Mr. Robinson. Many of them, or rather those of a similar character, have come to my own knowledge from other sources.

I will now relate briefly a few facts of a different character, showing the unspeakable cruelty of this traffic in its operations upon slaves left behind. The following was related during our debate by Andrew Benton, a member of the theological department, who was an agent of the Sunday School Union for two or three years in Missouri. A master in St. Louis sold a slave at auction to a driver who was collecting men for the southern market. The negro was very intelligent, and, on account of his ingenuity in working iron, was sold for an uncommonly high price—about seven or eight hundred dollars. He had a wife whom he tenderly loved; and from whom he was determined not to part. During the progress of the sale, he saw that a certain man was determined to purchase him. He went up to him and said, "If you buy me, you must buy my wife too, for I can't go without her. If you will only buy my wife, I will go with you willingly, but if you don't I shall never be of any use to you." He continued to repeat the same expressions for some time. The man turned upon him, and with a sneer and a blow, said, "Begone, villain! don't you know you are a slave?" The negro felt it keenly—he retired. The sale went on. He was finally struck off to this man. The slave again accosted his new master, and besought him with great earnestness and feeling to buy his wife, saying, that if he only would do that, he would work for him hard and faithfully—would be a good slave—and added with much emphasis, "If you don't, I never shall be worth any thing to you." He was now repelled more harshly than before. The negro retired a little distance from his master, took out his knife, cut his throat from ear to ear, and fell weltering in his blood!—Can slaves feel?

The following happened in Campbell county, Ky. This county lies directly across the Ohio river, opposite Cincinnati. A slave had been purchased by a trader from the lower country. The flat-boat in which he was to go down was lying at the village of Covington, just opposite Cincinnati. The morning came on which he was to go. He was brought on board in chains. His colored acquaintances gathered around him, to bid him "good bye." Among those who came, was his wife. She had followed him on foot from their home, a few miles in the interior. For some time she stood on the boat in the silence of despair—weeping, but speaking not. But as the moment of separation drew near, she gave vent to her grief in wild and incoherent shrieks, tearing her hair and tossing her arms wildly into the air. She was carried home a raving maniac. In this condition, she continued for weeks, raving and calling out for her husband. The family who owned her, whipped her repeatedly because she neglected her work to talk and cry about her husband so much. He has never returned. All the circumstances of this affair are known personally to many individuals in Cincinnati.

A member of this institution recently visiting among the colored people of Cincinnati, entered a house where were a mother and her little son. The wretched appearance of the house, and the extreme poverty of its inmates, induced the visitor to suppose that the husband of the woman must be a drunkard. He inquired of the boy, who was two or three years old, where his father was. He replied, "Papa stole." The visitor seemed not to understand, and turning to the mother said, "What does he mean?" She then related the following circumstances: About two years ago, one evening her husband was sitting in the house, when two men came in, and professing great friendship, persuaded him under some pretence to go on board a steam-boat then lying at the dock, and bound down the river. After some hesitation, he consented to go. She heard nothing from him for more than a year, but supposed he had been kidnapped. Last spring, Dr. —, a physician of Cincinnati, being at Natchez, Miss., saw this negro in a drove of slaves, and recognized him. He ascertained from conversation with him, that he had been driven about from place to place since he was decoyed from home by the slave-drivers; had changed masters two or three times, and had once been

lodged in jail for safe keeping, where he remained some time. When Dr. ——— returned to Cincinnati, he saw the wife of the negro, and engaged to take the necessary steps for his liberation; but soon afterwards, this gentleman fell a victim to the cholera, which was then prevailing in Cincinnati. No efforts have since been made to recover this negro. No tidings have been heard from him since the return of Dr. ———. He is probably now laboring upon some sugar or cotton plantation in Louisiana, without the hope of escaping from slavery, although he is a free-born citizen of Philadelphia.

But other methods, more dastardly, if not more cruel, are resorted to, to decoy negroes into the southern market. Mr. Robinson, the gentleman above mentioned, related a case in point. While he was going down the Mississippi, on board of the same boat was a man who had with him a female slave. He repeatedly told *her* that he was taking her down to live for a short time with his brother. Under this impression she went cheerfully. He told some of the passengers, however, that this was merely a decoy to induce her to go willingly, but that his *real* object was to sell her. Some time before they reached New-Orleans, Mr. R. left the boat for the interior, and did not arrive in New-Orleans till some days after the boat reached there. The next day after his arrival, he visited the New Exchange, and *there saw this woman exposed to sale*. He described her appearance as dejected in the extreme.

Facts communicated by Mr. Augustus Wattles, of Lane Seminary, to the Editor of the Western Recorder:—

The debate was opened by Mr. ———, of Alabama. He commenced by asking this question—"What is slavery?" "Before we can prescribe a remedy," said he, "we must understand the disease. We must know what we are attempting to cure, before we give the medicine." I was rejoiced to hear such a beginning from the son of a slave-holder; for I had longed to learn the true condition of the slave. And I had no doubt but that the feeling of the abolitionists on the subject of slavery, "was the poetry of philanthropy,"* and that "nine-tenths of the horrors of slavery were imaginary."†

Mr. ——— proceeded to give us facts illustrating slavery, and its effects on the social and political relations; facts illustrating the kind disposition of the slaves, and their gratitude for favors. He ridiculed the idea of its being dangerous to emancipate them immediately; then referred us to facts in point, and closed by giving us his hearty assent to the doctrines of immediate emancipation, as defined by the Emancipator, viz:

"By immediate emancipation we do not mean that the slaves shall be turned loose upon the nation, to roam as vagabonds or aliens; nor, that they shall be instantly invested with all political rights and privileges; but we mean, that instead of being under the unlimited control of a few irresponsible masters, they shall really receive the protection of law: that the power which is now vested in every slave-holder to rob them of their just dues, to drive them into the fields like beasts, to lacerate their bodies, to sell the husband from the wife, the wife from the husband, and children from their parents, shall instantly cease: that the slaves shall be employed as free laborers, fairly compensated, and protected in their earnings: that they shall be placed under a benevolent and disinterested supervision, which shall secure to them the right to obtain secular and religious knowledge, to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, to accumulate wealth, and to seek an intellectual and moral elevation."

When speaking of the cruelties practised upon the slave, he said—"At our house it is so common to hear their screams from a neighbouring plantation, that we think nothing of it. The overseer of this plantation told me one day, he laid a young woman over a log, and beat her so severely that she was soon after delivered of a dead child. A bricklayer, a neighbor of ours, owned a very smart young negro man, who ran away, but was caught. When his master got him home, he stripped him naked, tied him up by his hands, in plain sight and hearing of the academy and the public green, so high that his feet could not touch the ground; then tied them together, and put a long board between his legs, to keep him steady. After preparing him in this way, he took a paddle, bored it full of holes, and commenced beating him with it. He continued it leisurely all day. At night his flesh was literally pounded to a jelly. It was two weeks before he was able to walk. No one took any notice of it: no one thought any wrong was done."

He stated many more facts of a similar kind. It will be recollected that he was attempting to give a fair *expose* of slavery. "And (said he) lest any one should think that in *general* the slaves are well treated, and these are the exceptions, let me be distinctly understood:—*Cruelty is the rule, and kindness the exception.*"

This was assented to, and corroborated by all from the slave-holding states.

* Rev. Dr. Hawks.

† Hon. T. Frelinghuysen, at the New-York Colonization meeting.

